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## Near East/South Asia Report

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10 APRIL 1987

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EGYPT

AWQAF MINISTER DISCUSSES POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS

Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 29 Jan 87 p 9

[Interview with Muhammad 'Ali al-Mahjub, minister of awqaf and religious affairs]

[Excerpts] The Islamic Conference currently being held in Kuwait will deal with the problems of the Arab and Islamic worlds, and it is hoped that the Iran-Iraq war will be foremost among these issues. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, Egyptian minister of awqaf and religious affairs, said that he hopes that at the Islamic summit will the differences between brothers will at long last be resolved and Mahjub implores all who attend the conference to work on putting an end to this war which has dragged on between Iraq and Iran. In addition, Mahjub mentioned the Islamic problems which occupy Islamic and Arab opinion, and following are details of the discussion:

[Question] The Islamic conference will present an opportunity to deal with many of the problems of the Islamic and Arab World. What goal would you have the conferences pursue at this meeting?

[Answer] In truth as I said during my visit to the United States of America to attend the conference on the tradition and Biography of the Prophet and during my travels in London and Paris, I observed that the true image of Islam is distorted. European shave a grim image of Islam, in that every time they mention Islam in their news, Moslems are killing Moslems, and as an example they point to the Iran-Iraq War in which thousands of innocent victims have been slaughtered, and the infrastructures of the two countries have been ruined. Also they see what is happening in Lebanon, the senseless bloodletting and annihilation and they mention international terrorism, all of which is blamed on Islam. During my visit I tried to deny all of this, and to say that this is not Islam. Therefore, as a top priority, the conference must announce its opinion concerning these issues and must inform world opinion that Islamic countries do not support terrorism or extremism. Rather, justice prevails in these countries because Islam is a religion of mediation and tolerance. From my point of view like every Muslim, I believe that this conference has come at an opportune time, and I see it as an opportunity for the leadership, consisting of kings and presidents, to discuss in depth these dangers which not only threaten the Arab world but which also threaten the Islamic form which makes Muslims look like warmongers in the eyes of the world.

[Question] You recently returned from the Conference on the Tradition and Biography of the Prophet which was held in America. Did it have any positive results with regard to Islamic problems?

[Answer] Yes. Most important was the demonstration that Islam is not a religion of killing and terrorism. Rather, it is a religion of peace and neither recognizes extremism nor terrorism. The conference also directed an appeal to Iran to spare lives and to come to its senses, to work to the utmost to stop the hemorrhaging between it and Iran. In addition at this conference, all Islamic organizations operating in the United States united, shoulder to shoulder, to cooperate in highlighting the true image of Islam as a religion of love and peace.

[Question] Will there be a dialogue between Islamic groups and other factions in Egypt?

[Answer] The truth is that these youth are our sons, and sometimes a son has things he observes. It is the duty of the father and the duty of the intellectuals to discuss opinions with these youth, because opinions can only be answered with more opinions and ideas can only be answered with more ideas. This is what we will begin or rather what we have already begun to do. Currently we are involved in conducting a dialogue with our sons, because youth are always taken with religious fervor, especially since the Egyptian people are very religious. Perhaps some of these have an excuse, because they do not know much about religious matters. We have prepared ourselves to meet with them and to clarify to them the Islam of tolerance with regard to many of the questions which they are currently raising. If we find some factions trying to break from these principles or from the Islamic ranks in Egypt we will try to persuade them, and if they do not abide [by Islamic principles] then the subject will no longer be a matter for discussion.

[Question] There are those who would describe these people as extremists. Are you in agreement with this description?

[Answer] This is not true, and thank to God our youth in Egypt are all right; the great majority of them are fine and they are not extremists, but they do have opinions about some issues. However, there are a very few factions which can be counted on the fingers of one hand, who are attempting to change a problem from an intellectual discussion and a religious problem to hostility and conflict. These are not true Moslem youth; they must return to their senses.

[Question] From time to time the question arises concerning the application of the shari'ah [Islamic law] in Egypt. What about this question?

[Answer] The shari'ah, so as not to oppress Egypt, is applied to religious observances and moral behaviour and is applied in matters of faith and financial transactions also. Ninety-five of the civil laws are applied in complete accordance with the shari'ah, and this is the law which governs daily relations between individuals in Egypt.

[Question] However, there are those who say that the problems and the crises which surround us are caused in the first instance by society's distance from the application of the shari'ah. What is your comment on this?

[Answer] These claims are unfair. We believe that a country in which the prayer rituals are regularly performed, where the populace is called to prayer regularly, and where sermons are heard by way of the media, and where all leader and government agencies call for propagating the faith, for good morals, and clarifying religious matters,-then it is unjust to judge Egypt in such a manner. There are some specific matters which do have no bearing on our being an Islamic country, and I admit that in some cases there are departures [from Islam], but this does not mean that Egypt is not an Islamic country, and that the shari'ah is not being applied. Rather, Egypt applies the al-sharia' completely except for some laws. And if there are some deviations in behavior then it is the duty of individuals to begin with themselves first of all. We thank God that Egypt is an Islamic country, and I can confirm that there is true Islam, with its correct principles in Egypt.

12390

CSO: 4504/126

FUNDAMENTALIST AUTHOR CRITICIZES CURRENT REGIME

Tehran KAYHAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 21 Feb 87 p 6

[Interview with 'Abd-al-Jawwad Yasin by Samir Irshadi: "Islam in Egypt is Shaking the Dust Off Itself and Moving Forward Unrelentlessly";date not specified]

[Text] 'Abd-al-Jawwad Yasin, born in Egypt, a former judge in the Egyptian courts, has written a book, "Introduction to Understanding Modern Jahiliyah"[term refers to a pre-Islamic period], which analyzes the current state of Egyptian society in terms of Islam.

The prisons of the Egyptian regime knew him as he strove as a believer to apply the shari'ah of God, rejected the Satan, and mobilized the sons of his nation to fight the arrogant people who went to great lengths to tear out the roots of religion, obliterate its traces, and put an end to Islam.

He shares with the Iranian Muslim people their happiness and celebration of the occasion of the breaking of the ninth dawn of the victorious Iranian revolution and KAYHAN AL-'ARABI has taken the opportunity of his presence in revolutionary Tehran, to talk with him about the most important issues of the hour and his impressions of the revival of the Muslim people of Iran. The following is the interview:

[Question] The Egyptian regime recently held a referendum in which the People's Assembly was dissolved. It is preparing to hold new elections, during which it will pretend that there is democracy. What is the position of the Islamic groups towards the current events?

[Answer] We have a specific and clear opinion of the ruling regime in Egypt as we have of other regimes that belong to what is called the Islamic world. This view is that as long as God's rule is absent on earth, the regime is a jahili and not an Islamic one.

The Egyptian People's Assembly is an institution of the jahili regime ruling in Egypt. Thus, based on this point of view, we treat it as a jahili institution in which we no longer have any confidence that it can solve problems. Some people who disagree with this may have good intentions, but



their idea of dealing with the reality of al-jahiliyah, which has assumed such a blatant character, is not good.

The Egyptian regime, especially the institution of the presidency has found itself in a constitutional and legal dilemma as a result of the fact that the previous assembly, whose creation and rule was unconstitutional, became an assembly whose legitimacy was in question terms of constitutionality. At that point the president feared that his election would take place by means of this assembly to renew his term in office next October, because of the existence of a number of opposition parties that talk a lot about the issue of formal constitutionality, in order to round out the appearances of superficial democratic pomp which the West uses to suggest that Egypt is a democratic and constitutional regime based on legal institutions and organizations.

I am one of those who do not believe in the possibility of achieving the final goals of Islam by means of such jahili institutions, since Islam has its own means, just as it has its own goals. The aims of Islam are divine, as are the methods of Islam.

Thus we refuse to take this formal jahili path as the fundamental basis for the fundamental structure of the movement, because it has been proven that al-jahiliyah does not give its true enemies the chance to establish their institutions and organizations. This is the nature of things.

Al-jahiliyah does not permit its enemies to make use of its means to destroy it, since the aim of the Islamic movement is to destroy the structure of al-jahiliyah. How can it use the methods of al-jahiliyah to destroy al-jahiliyah?

How can it use al-jahiliyah to destroy al-jahiliyah?

To begin with, these institutions are secular jahili institutions arising from secular concepts found in a secular constitution, which must be erased from the face of the earth so that the structure of Islam may be built on it once again.

Thus it appears sensible and obvious that this is not the correct path.

[Question] You mentioned in your answer the divine methods for achieving the goal of Islam in governing. Could you clarify these methods for us.

[Answer] The divine methods can be summed up in two elements, which we mention here without going into detail:

The call to Islam and jihad.

[Question] Can the result of the referendum that the Egyptian regime held help the Egypt's ailing economy or has it weakened the plans and programs of the regime itself?

[Answer] The referendum will not help Egypt's economy nor its unity, policy and prosperity. It is a continual game that must not divert us from our basic plan that aims at establishing Islam.

We do not give much attention to these matters, nor do we take them seriously, because we realize the nature of such regimes and know that they are in reality satellite dictatorial regimes, not true independent dictatorships, but rather satellite dictatorial regimes, no more and no less.

We do not pay much attention to these superficial processes.

[Question] Shimon Peres will visit Cairo in the next few days. What do you think of Husni Mubarak's remarks that the distancing of Egypt from Camp David would ensure the annihilation of Egyptians. Does the Egyptian people have an audible voice in this matter?

[Answer] If these remarks were indeed made, they are a repetition of the idea of great Zionist imperialism, which is trying to present the issue in this light to this kind of politician.

They are trying to make them think that arrogant world powers will not accept an alternative to Camp David and that a departure from Camp David would be suicide for the Egyptian people.

Thus, these words are a reiteration of the concept that world Zionist arrogance has imposed on the thinking of these politicians.

As for the common people, the truth is that the Egyptian people, look for support in the traces of the heritage of Islam that have remained hidden within them to enable them to resist the violent westernization assault. These traces have shaped the views of Egyptians toward Israel in general.

I do not think that the position of Muslims in Egypt toward Israel can be attributed to the Arab nationalism of Abd-al-Nasir, the Egyptian nationalism of al-Sadat, or to the nationalism, patriotism or Islamicism of Husni Mubarak. Essentially their position of rejecting world Zionism can be attributed to the traces of the Islamic heritage hidden deep within Muslims.

[Question] If we take a brief look at the political map of the Islamic world, we find that many peoples of the Islamic nation, including Egypt are on the threshold of a violent upheaval and decisive political changes. What are your expectations about what is happening and about what will happen in the future?

[Answer] It is difficult to predict the future, for God knows the unknown and the most a human can do is move in the direction that God orders him to, confident of the victory of God and the fulfillment of his promise in the end.

Despite this, the Muslim is not prohibited, as he participates in the movement, from carefully examining events in order to prepare to make use of them or to make use of them in his current situation.



However, in general terms it can be stated that Islam has shaken the dust off itself and it appears that Islam has started to move unrelentlessly after being inactive for centuries.

We ask God to make us and all Muslims victorious.

[Question] What are the impressions you have as you visit the capital of the Islamic revolution for the first time?

[Answer] I have indeed found much prosperity, more than I was expecting. Yes, I was expecting prosperity, but what I have seen is more than I was expecting. The greatest thing that I have seen is the bursting energy of spirit, this burning enthusiasm, as if it were a fire that will not die.

This enthusiastic spirit is the element that is absent and that we have missed for a long time in our Islamic nation. We believe that the masses that are called Islamic have within them the traces of a hidden heritage that wants to awaken from its slumber. If it awakens and harmonizes with the intellect of the human who is conscious of the necessity of what his Lord commands, it will lack nothing but this heart-felt, enthusiastic and bursting urge that compels this enthusiastic spirit to start on the path toward the establishment of the religion of God on earth, removing from his path every obstacle, authority and force that resists the light of God.

[Question] The infidel regime of Saddam is playing its last card by waging the war of the cities. Blood of innocent believing children, women, and old people has been shed. What do you think about these inhuman crimes and what is position of Islam toward them?

[Answer] The ruling regime in Iraq now has no origin in Islam to justify its basic existence.

These practices are no more than a kind of crime that accompanies the consciousness of death.

The consciousness of death is that final awakening that precedes a person's death.

Shortly before death, a sick person whose illness lasted a long time experiences an intense awakening as though he were clinging fast to life and were afraid that his soul would depart. This is when he strikes a cowardly blow!

A coward strikes a blow, that is irrational and misplaced.

What I think is that these blows are the political and military bankruptcy that the infidel regime in Iraq is announcing. I have also noticed that the Muslims in Iran are trying to make this infidel regime miss the target at which it is aiming these low blows.

It is aiming at putting pressure on the Islamic regime in Iran in order to achieve its grip in the turmoil and holy war or to make people think seriously

about stopping it, thinking that it forms a vicious popular pressure that causes severe anxiety to the Islamic leadership in Iran.

However, I have noticed that the Muslim people in Iran have destroyed the dream of Saddam and I call, Sublime God, to this people to continue its steadfastness until the Great One grants victory to Islam and the Muslims.

[Question] The Iraqi Muslim people are faced today with a vicious campaign by the Zionist regime tyrannizing its people. Are you following what is happening to this oppressed people, especially after the deprivation of dozens of men of learning of this people and its leadership of the Sunna and Shi'a?

[Answer] The truth is that we know everything. We know that the regime of Saddam is perpetrating such crimes. However, we know only a little about the details, to the extent that I wonder if the time has come for this Muslim people to intervene to put an end to the problem.

It appears that there is still a pulse deep within them and I ask God to grant them a clear victory.

[Question] A few days ago the news agencies carried the news that Hizbollah was distributing an announcement in the streets of Egypt, in which it threatened to strike at Israeli and American interests in Cairo. What is the news of this organization and where is the Islamic movement going there?

[Answer] The truth is that I do not know much about this party. However, the Islamic movement in Egypt, despite all the obstacles, barriers and the moral flaws of humans, is progressing confidently, God willing.

We ask God that this movement continue on its way.

[Question] Do you have a final word to direct to the people of our great Islamic nation?

[Answer] I say to them: Keep Islam in your hearts always. Let Islam be the goal. I enjoin myself and you to fear God, inwardly and outwardly. What man endeavors to do in the world will not be pious as long as he is not pious himself inwardly.

I ask God to grant you victory over your enemies. God is Noble.

13292

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## VIEWS OF EQUATORIA GOVERNOR REPORTED

Khartoum THE GUIDING STAR in English 26 Feb 87 pp 1, 8

[Article by William Hai Zaza]

[Text] The Governor of Equatoria Region, Major-General (PSC) Peter Cirillo, has said that the priority of his Government is to improve services to the people, increase agricultural output of small farm holders and to tighten the security in the region.

General Cirillo, who was speaking to the Guiding Star in his Khartoum Coordination Office last week, said he would exert efforts to put the schools in Equatoria back to function and to avail both curative and preventive medical care opportunities to the citizen.

He said in the past years food production in some parts of Equatoria Region was affected by civil war on one hand and lack of agricultural implements on the other. In this connection General Cirillo said his measures towards increasing food production and improving the economy of Equatoria Region would include the necessity to fortify all gates of inc-

ursion by the SPLA, then open supply routes and provide the farmers with appropriate agricultural tools and improved seeds on time..

The situation of essential commodities, he said, has greatly improved on account of the resumption of flights to Juba and the restrictions he had imposed on the method of supply of food commodities to Equatoria.... General Cirillo said the restriction had curtailed all outlets of smugglers and black-marketeering.

Regarding the formation of Equatoria Regional Government, General Cirillo said he would allow the indigenous parties of the area: PPP and SAPOC a free hand in setting up a government which would serve the needs and interest of the people of Equatoria Region.

Concerning the dispute with his deputy, General Cirillo denied rejecting Mr. Morris Lawiya's appointment as the Deputy Governor of Equatoria Region. He said earlier he was anticipating a broad-based government to be set up in Equatoria that could ensure the effective participation of all citizens of the region.

But, as he put it, 'the present arrangement which was torpedoed by SAPOC party' has created problem of power-sharing in Equatoria. He said he had reacted to the situation, however, unaware of the agreements reached by SAPOC Constituent Assembly members.

He said it is generally understood that SAPOC members endorsed the nomination and recommendation for Mr. Lawiya to be appointed Deputy Governor. In this connection, General Cirillo said,

he considered the decision to appoint Mr. Lawiya legitimate since majority of SAP-OO Assembly members were Western Equatoria citizens.

As regards his role in the Council for the South, General Cirillo said, he had nothing or practically very little to do in the Council and so he was of the opinion that most of the affairs which might require his presence could be handled by Mr Sapana Jambo, member of the Council.

He said he considered it important to be in Juba and keep the wheels of development moving rather than attending Council meetings in Khartoum. General Cirillo went on to explain that there is much to be done in the field of education, health and developing the rural areas.

Concerning the accusation

against the neighbouring country of Kenya, General Cirillo said, there was evidence of Kenya's involvement in the internal affairs of the Sudan. He assured the Guiding Star that Kenyan Government was aware of the problems which he described as being purely 'military' in nature.

General Cirillo blamed most of the newspapers including the Guiding Star for what he called: 'unbalanced' reporting and focusing on negative aspects of affairs in Equatoria Region. One example he gave is that one evening Ondurman T.V. newscast referred to General Cirillo as a retired Major-General.

MZALI REFUTES CHARGES, APPEALS TO SFAR

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 24-30 Jan 87 p 23

[Text] At 6 pm, on Tuesday, July 8, 1986, the Tunisian media broadcast a terse statement saying, "President Habib Bourguiba has decided to dismiss Mr Mohamed Mzali from the posts of prime minister and secretary general of the party and he has decided to appoint Rachid Sfar as his successor as prime minister and secretary general of the party.

This news came as a surprise in Tunis and in other Arab and foreign capitals, especially since it followed closely in the wake of the 12th Congress of the Destourian Socialist Party which had renewed its confidence in Mohamed Mzali. However, a chain of events followed in succession after the dismissal of Mohamed Mzali. They were manifested in his expulsion from the party and then, the arrest of and the bringing of charges against his eldest son. Mzali's story has not ended with his escape from Tunisia and his taking refuge in Europe, where he has continued to defend himself accusing some Tunisian quarters of being the cause of his fate.

In this context, AL-TADAMUN obtained, from an Arab source in Europe, the text of the letter which Mr Mzali sent to his successor, the current prime minister, Rachid Sfar, last December. We are publishing it without any alterations in order to maintain its documentary character:

Mr Rachid Sfar, Prime Minister - Tunis

I wrote to you on 13 September 1986 addressing you as the one in charge and as a former colleague who had known me well and whom I had known well for many years. Did this out of appreciation for your delicate situation and out of fear that the evil gang will come between you and the heart of the president, who loves you and has confidence in you, just as he had loved me and had had confidence in me, that your path to success in your difficult task will be strewn with banana peels, and that consequently you will become tense, deviate from your path waver and fall into the trap as many before you had.

I wrote you then, appealing to your conscience in the hope that you will be able to give assistance to those who are treated unjustly and that you will give all of those in the right their due without fearing the critic's rebuke. Unfortunately, however, I have learned from trustworthy Tunisian and



foreign sources that you are siding with those who are prejudiced against me, directing various accusations against me. Is this unsuspected hostile position of yours conviction or is it the result of the campaign of suspicion and slander the flames of which are being fanned by Mrs. Sassi and the misguided clique whose members vie with each other to servelish her objectives? You see them, yes, you see them trembling before her in fear, taking her prestige into account, trying to gain her favor, carrying out the wishes of her and her relatives, in hopes that she'll put in a "kind word" for them with the president. Or is it a tactical position (and still think that is unlikely) to finish me off politically. As if you are not aware that the transgressors are inciting you against me so they can eat "chestnuts from the paws of the cat" as the Tunisian saying goes? Even if they reveal their aims to you, whether you realize it or not, they will overthrow you and get rid of you.

I often used to read and return to the security services hundreds of red files bearing the rubric, "FYI," which were sent to me weekly. I returned them so that they could take the action which is natural and comes within their purview.

In view of the fact that one of these files dealt with STIL (Tunisian Dairy Industries Company), I decided to support the work of the security services. I then handed these files over to the office of the inspector general in the office of the prime minister for the further study, and I informed the minister of the interior of that.

Being a Khouanji (al-Takhwannuj): I was surprised and hurt when I heard you had adopted the "fabricated" accusations that I had encouraged the publication of radical religious books with the support of the support fund! And, you were the one responsible for its management in your capacity as a former minister of economy. Does this mean that I was a "Khovanji," unbeknownst to anyone until all suddenly came out on 8 July? Didn't you read the memorandum prepared I for the political department which calls for nonapproval of the granting of "registration of copyright" for one of these books because of its criticism of the code of personal Status? Then I noted on the margin of the memorandum the phrase "No objection" with regard to the other books, which I understood from the summaries prepared by the political department, were merely religious books without any criticism of Tunisian policy! My crime is not objection to the distribution of religious books simply because they were religious as if Tunisia were not an Islamic country! Do you blame me for not inspecting these books myself? Or is it my offense that I placed my trust in the employees who prepared the above mentioned summaries? Or what?

How the evil gang has succeeded in polluting your thoughts to the point of zeal in accusing me in front of your visitors, of support for religious extremism while holding in front of them some of these booklets by 'Ali Bouslama, just as a hunter holds his prey.

Praise be to Him who changes conditions and men! However, all I ask of you today is justice for my son-in-law and his rescue from the claws of the executioners before time runs out and justice for my son. I ask that you make a spiritual and moral effort to suspend your personal judgement against me and my family before any further inquiry. The number of unjust people in my country today is increasing, but I consider you to be above all of them.



In chapter [XXI], al-Anbiya' (The Prophets), Almighty God said, "We will throw the demons [sic] against falsehood, behold, falsehood doth perish."

Misquotation of XXI: 18

"Nay, We hurl the Truth against false hood, and it knocks out its brain, and behold, falsehood doth perish."

In the Chapter of Ibrahim (XIV: 27) He said, "God will establish in strength those who believe, with the word that stands firm, in this world and the hereafter; but God will leave to stray those who do wrong; God doeth what he willeth."

12390/12951

CS0: 4504/125

VARIOUS MAJOR ECONOMIC INDICES SHOW DEFICITS, INDEBTEDNESS

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 9 Feb 87 p 6

[Article by 'Isam al-Jaradi: "The Decline in the 1986 Balance of Payments (\$125 Million) Has Not Reduced the Rate of Decline in the Pound, and the Scope for an Increase in the Treasury Deficit and Domestic Public Debt Is Very Great"]

[Text] With the advent of 1987, the state of political fragmentation the country is in and the deterioration of security in the national context, the general picture seems gloomy in the economic and social areas, and, in their details, in the financial and monetary areas.

Every day, preoccupations and feelings of anxiety over what the situation will be at the end of the year increase, since the war underway for 12 years has been fated to enter its 13th year with no signs allowing for a solution.

While the ailment was preceded by indicators and evidence, what has assumed economic, monetary and social form in Lebanon today is not the indicators and evidence of the ailment but the ailment itself. The great challenge that faces us is to prevent the ailment from taking over or the treatment from becoming out of the question.

Although the economy, in the form of the country's situation and the repercussions of that, has also long awaited, and still is awaiting, an improvement in this situation, the serious fear now is that the wait will go on for a longer period. Even if a political solution, or a plan for a solution, is produced, and is accompanied by a cease fire to provide a respite in various contexts, the economy will have exhausted all its material resources. The picture has become inverted and the political situation has become a mirror of the economic situation, now that we have lost everything, including the lost years of growth, and there are no savings for the new generations which are joining the society every year or every month without being able to possess national rights, the simplest of which are bread, health, housing and education. We go back to the basic roots of the war, which have engendered wars and imposed crises. At the heart of these roots is the economic-social issue.

Some people consider that Lebanon, in spite of what has afflicted its economy, still can rise again, even if it is heavily weighed down by burdens, in

the event the political and security situation becomes stabilized and the Lebanese regain confidence in their nation, first of all, then in their economy and their money, in spite of the negative economic indicators. Meanwhile some others consider that every delay of a month in the political solution will require a full year of work and production.

#### Economic Indicators

The latest official economic indicators show that preliminary Lebanese balance of payments figures, concentrated on the status of the net foreign assets of the banking system as a whole, including the net foreign assets of the Bank of Lebanon, registered a deficit at the end of 1986 estimated at about \$125 million or slightly more, as compared with \$381 million at the end of 1985. That is, the balance of payments deficit declined by an amount of \$256 million at the end of 1986 from the end of 1985 (see Table One; according to Bank of Lebanon statistics, the balance of payments deficit was recorded at \$224 million at the end of November 1986).

As for domestic public debt (Table Two), that at the end of 1986 was recorded at 78,005,000,000 pounds as compared with 54,368,000,000 pounds at the end of 1985 (by the end of November of 1986 it had been recorded at more than 84 billion pounds: memorandum of the governor of the Bank of Lebanon to the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies (AL-SAFIR, 25 January 1987)).

The government's deficit was recorded at 24,933,000,000 pounds as compared with 20,796,000,000 pounds at the end of 1985 (Table Three).

#### The Balance of Payments

The main reasons for the decline in the balance of payments deficit in 1986 as compared with 1985 can be attributed to a number of factors, the most prominent of which are:

1. The volume of imports in general greatly declined in 1986 in view of the cost of these imports and the great decline in the rate of exchange of the Lebanese pound vis-a-vis the dollar and other foreign currencies.

The decline in imports affected high-priced luxury and high-class categories most of all, once the numbers of people consuming them had declined because of the state of poverty and indigence.

The decline in private sector imports reduced great pressure on remittances in foreign currencies abroad.

It is necessary, here, to affirm the great decline which imports via the public sector, especially regarding fuel invoices, recorded during 1986.

Based on the figures of the Bank of Lebanon, the volume of imports in 1986 was recorded at \$434,460,882.68 (Table Four) as compared with \$749,470,916.27 in 1985, that is, a drop of more than \$315 million.

The cause of this decline may be ascribed to the policy of austerity the government authorized, although its results remained limited, and to the

great decline which occurred in the volume of oil invoices, as a consequence of the decline in the price of oil on international markets on the one hand and the contraction of domestic demand for gasoline and fuel following the rise in prices on the other, as well as the contraction in the volume of consumption of oil (one of the two sources of energy in Lebanon, alongside electricity) in industrial organizations, in view of the contraction in production activity. Energy consumption is considered one of the sources on which gross national product and economic activity statistics are based.

The waste in oil energy consumption must have declined, or let us say become subjected to allocations to a large degree, following the rise in the prices of oil products.

In addition, the Bank of Lebanon's sales of foreign currency to the Ministry of Defense declined by approximately half in 1986.

2. A conspicuous improvement in the course of industrial exports in 1986 in comparison with 1985. The reason can be ascribed to the drop in the exchange rate of the pound and consequently the prices of Lebanese exports.

3. What it has become the custom to label "the hidden dollar," a dollar which is broken down into two sources:

A. The political dollar. There are no official or private statistics or estimates on the movement of such dollars to Lebanon in 1986; perhaps the banks are the best informed about this movement, but political dollar incomes with a multiplicity of political, security and economic purposes unquestionably exist.

B. The narcotics dollar. There are no figures, even estimates, in this area either, but it is acknowledged that hashish exports from Lebanon were brisk even in the period when the government's agencies existed, before the war. The yield from hashish exports is estimated at more than \$500 million a year. The consequences of this entered into the balance of payments when it was recording a constant surplus, and its figures are not known.

Of course this trade is going on at the present time in the context of the breakdown in security, the proliferation of export outlets and the increase in the area of land cultivated with hashish and opium, which is higher priced and has come to enjoy a brisk market in the last 2 years.

The question is, if the status of the balance of payments has been a decisive element in determining the exchange rates of currencies, why did the exchange rate of the dollar rise from 18.10 pounds at the end of 1985 to 87 pounds at the end of 1986, that is, an increase of 68.9 pounds, while the balance of payments deficit declined in 1986?

The basis for an answer might essentially be that most of Lebanon's hard currency remittances or revenues in 1986 remained in their original form, as hard currency, and were not converted into Lebanese pounds, because of the great increase which occurred in the bulk of bank deposits, since the share of foreign currency has been estimated at about 70 percent as compared with 30 percent in Lebanese pounds.

Here, it has been pointed out that the factors making foreign currencies preferable to the Lebanese pound in the bulk of bank deposits may be attributed also, basically, to the conversion of pounds into dollars and foreign currencies domestically.

Here the importance of the element of trust is prominent in the decline which occurred in the exchange rate of the pound, in spite of the positive change to which the balance of payments was subjected in 1986.

#### Domestic Public Debt and the Government Deficit

The direct cause of the increase in domestic public debt and consequently the budget deficit and the accumulated treasury deficit is the overwhelming decline in government revenues and incomes, from customs duties or from taxes and the like. There is no need to repeat details which have become well known in this area.

The Bank of Lebanon has tried to reduce reliance on its loans to finance public expenditures as far as possible, through intensified monetary measures which it has taken to increase the banks' willingness to subscribe to treasury bonds or by venturing to receive subscriptions directly from the public as of March 1986.

However, as of the second half of 1986, the public bonds lost their "appeal" after receipts from them as of July 1986 had come to about 1.5 billion pounds, for numerous reasons, most important of which was the Ministry of Finance's lack of enthusiasm for the project, indeed, its indirect assumption of a stand against it instead of providing all possible incentives for it, and the vicious opposition which the project faced from the banks, since at the time they found that it constituted a source for the leakage of bank deposits to the government coffers rather than their own coffers, in view of the great difference between the volume of creditor interest on bank deposits and the volume of interest provided for the public bonds, especially since the banks, while improving the levels of their creditor interest, were not prepared to continue paying high interest.

With the advent of the final quarter of 1986, the public bonds appeared of limited effect not just because of the opposition to them from the banks but also after the great decline which had started to occur in the exchange rate of the Lebanese pound and the growth of the rates of inflation to the point where the real rates of interest on public bonds were not attractive and the public's willingness to subscribe to the bonds declined, large amounts owed for them were not provided again but were spent on the dollar and foreign currency market, the government's need for loans continued to be great, and the ratio of debt indebtedness to the Bank of Lebanon increased.

The scope of the government's financial deficit and the general internal debt in 1987 appears prone to all possibilities: expenditures will not be suspended, of course, and the government does not seem to have resolved its affairs by recouping its revenues, since a political solution does not seem to be at hand.



Table One: Results of the Balance of Payments, 1983-1986 (in Millions of Pounds and Dollars)

1986

	1983	1984	1985	January	February- March	April (1)	May (1)	June	July	August	September- October	November (1)		
1. Changes in Net Foreign Assets, Lebanese Pounds	3,085	1,401	30,830	17,751	17,710	2,473	12,172	14,726	26,004	10,430	-8,487	13,905	21,821	35,772
In the Bank of Lebanon	1,145	-3,217	16,805	5,551	-19,981	436	3,667	4,033	7,911	1,789	2,724	2,999	4,135	11,041
In Commercial Banks	1,940	4,618	14,025	12,200	-5,729	2,037	8,505	10,703	18,093	8,641	-11,211	10,906	17,686	24,731
2. Cumulative Change (2), Lebanese Pounds	3,085	1,401	30,830	17,751	41	2,514	14,686	29,422	55,426	65,856	57,369	71,274	93,095	128,867
In the Bank of Lebanon	1,145	-3,217	16,805	5,551	-6,430	-5,994	-2,327	1,706	9,617	11,406	14,130	17,129	21,264	32,305
In Commercial Banks	1,940	4,618	14,025	12,200	6,471	8,508	17,01	27,716	45,809	54,450	43,239	54,145	71,831	96,562
3. Changes in Net Foreign Assets, Dollars	-933	-1,353	381	-23	-181	-270	154	-87	31	29	115	42	70	-104
In the Bank of Lebanon	-701	-1,230	399	-135	-295	-119	29	-63	-7	-26	169	-30	-42	-40
In Commercial Banks	-232	-123	-18	112	114	-151	125	-24	38	55	-54	72	112	-64



[Table One, Continued]

1986

	1983	1984	1985	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November
				ry	ary	(1)	(1)		(1)			ber	(1)	(1)
4. Cumulative Change (3), Dollars	-933	-1,353	381	-23	-204	-474	-320	-407	-376	-347	-232	-190	-120	-224
In the Bank of Lebanon	-701	-1,230	399	-135	-430	-549	-520	-583	-590	-616	-447	-475	-519	-559
In Commercial Banks	-232	-123	-18	112	226	75	200	176	214	269	215	185	399	335
Exchange Rate of Dollar	5.49	8.89	18.10	24.25	19.45	22.52	25.80	32.40	42.00	45.50	40.50	44.90	51.42	66.35

1. Estimates of Instruction 132

2. This section represents the results of the balance of payments in Lebanese pounds for the end of the period.

3. This section represents the results of the balance of payments in American dollars at the end of the period.

Table Two: The Domestic Public Debt at the End of the 1983-86 Period (In Millions of Dollars)

1986

	1982	1983	1984	1985	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
					ary	ary										
Domestic Treasury Debt																
1. Bank of Lebanon Loans	1,752	5,307	11,635	15,039	15,093	15,943	16,643	16,837	17,321	17,773	18,043	18,043	20,410	20,932	21,447	22,201
2. Treasury Bonds	12,279	15,856	19,131	38,181	39,527	38,568	38,402	39,139	41,245	41,581	42,765	44,506	47,478	49,571	52,550	54,096
2A. Less Those in Bank of Lebanon Bond Portfolio	--	--	1,010	397	4,440	5,094	5,703	4,990	7,413	7,650	8,367	3,109	5,310	4,929	7,486	11,792
3. Total (2+1)	14,031	21,163	30,766	53,220	54,620	54,511	55,045	55,976	58,566	59,354	60,808	62,549	67,888	70,503	73,997	76,306
Less Debts Owed by Public Institutions																
4. From Bank of Lebanon (1)	--	--	--	584	584	726	754	1,023	1,023	1,085	1,085	1,085	1,085	1,085	1,085	1,085
5. From Commercial Banks	74	579	631	564	685	636	694	717	735	751	792	617	535	681	614	614
6. Total (4+5)	74	579	631	1,148	1,269	1,362	1,448	1,740	1,758	1,836	1,877	1,702	1,620	1,766	1,669	1,699

1986

(1) Including Bank of Lebanon Loans to the Lebanon Electric Company

Table Three: The Government Deficit at the End of the 1983-1986 Period (In Billions of Pounds)

1986

	1983	1984	1985	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Values of Change in Components of Domestic Public Debt															
1. Bank of Lebanon Loans to Treasury	3,556	6,328	3,404	55	905	1,605	1,799	2,283	2,735	3,005	3,005	5,372	5,894	6,409	7,172
2. Treasury Bonds	3,577	3,275	19,150	1,346	387	221	958	3,064	3,400	4,584	6,325	9,297	11,390	14,269	15,915
3. Bank of Lebanon Loans to Public Institutions	--	--	584	--	142	170	439	439	501	501	501	501	501	501	501
4. Commercial Bank Loans to Public Institutions	505	52	-67	121	72	130	153	171	187	228	53	-29	117	50	50
Values of Change in Treasury and Public Sector Accounts															
5. Account of Treasury Chief Creditor	-820	259	1,657	-1,236	-1,156	-1,234	-1,704	-708	-547	-962	-962	438	-1,135	-1,036	-46
6. Public Sector Accounts	554	888	5,501	2,396	1,039	-1,848	-1,897	497	2,395	1,557	-874	4,187	4,943	6,432	6,432

[Table Three, Continued]

1986

	1983	1984	1985	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
6A. With Bank of Lebanon	646	877	5,541	2,358	-1,065	-1,889	-1,955	428	2,154	1,385	-1,092	3,941	1,708	6,244	6,244
6B. With Commercial Banks	-92	11	-40	38	26	61	58	69	242	172	218	246	235	188	188
Government Currency Differential Disbursements	--	1,546	--	--	--	900	900	900	900	900	900	900	900	900	900
Government Disbursements of Actual Bank of Lebanon Profits	773	654	978	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600
Deficit A (1,2-5)	7,953	9,344	20,797	2,637	2,448	3,060	4,488	6,055	6,682	8,551	10,292	14,231	18,419	22,314	24,033
Deficit B (1,2, 3, 4-6)	7,084	8,767	17,470	-874	2,545	3,974	5,273	5,461	4,428	6,761	10,846	10,954	12,959	14,897	17,206
Deficit A (Deficit A, Currency Differential Disbursements)	7,953	10,890	20,796	2,673	2,448	3,960	5,388	6,955	7,582	9,452	11,192	15,131	19,319	23,214	24,933
Deficit B (Deficit B, Currency Differential Disbursements)	7,084	10,313	17,450	-874	2,545	4,876	6,173	6,361	5,514	7,357	12,446	12,554	13,859	15,797	17,906
Deficit C (Average, Deficit A and Deficit B)	7,519	9,055	19,133	882	2,493	3,518	4,880	5,757	5,648	7,504	10,569	14,467	18,728	22,590	24,308

Table Four: Bank of Lebanon Sales of Foreign Currency to Various Government Departments, Valued in American Dollars, 1 January 1986-31 December 1986

Beneficiary Body	Value in American Dollars	Monthly Average in American Dollars	Percent
Oil allocations	277,684,000.00		
Various oil	730,462.84		
Total oil	178,414,462.84	23,201,205.24	64.08
Wheat allocations	43,358,974.00	3,613,247.92	9.98
Electricity of Lebanon	46,123,809.51	3,843,650.80	10.62
Finance, various	29,053,800.08	2,421,150.00	6.69
Foreign Affairs	14,739,591.07	1,228,299.25	3.39
National defense	6,479,684.85	539,973.74	1.49
Bank of Lebanon -- Treasury Department	4,612,360.88	384,363.40	1.06
Bank of Lebanon -- Administrative Affairs	863,410.25	71,950.85	0.20
Board of Development and Reconstruction	3,291,314.45	274,276.21	0.76
Ministry of Water Re- sources and Electricity	2,591,635.02	215,969.59	0.60
Ministry of Housing and Cooperatives	1,694,250.00	141,187.50	0.39
Ministry of Interior	1,415,815.54	117,984.65	0.33
Center of Scientific Research	436,709.22	36,392.43	0.10
Recouping of interest	388,544.81	32,378.73	0.09
National Al-Litani Ri- ver Department	237,858.79	19,821.56	0.05
State Security Depart- ment	112,014.70	9,334.55	0.03
Telephones	342,959.36	28,579.95	0.08
Various	90,641.18	7,553.43	0.02
Agriculture	61,533.05	5,127.75	--



Ministry of Public Works and Transportation	72,132.55	6,011.05	--
Chamber of Deputies	17,811.42	1,484.28	--
Ministry of Health	43,708.44	3,642.37	0.04
Republican Guard	9,257.52	771.46	--
Ministry of Justice	8,602.15	716.84	--
Total	434,460,882.68	36,205,073.55	100.00

[Table Five begins on following page]

Table Five: Bank of Lebanon Sales of Foreign Currency to Various Government Departments, Valued in American Dollars, 1 January 1985-31 December 1985

Beneficiary Body	Value in American Dollars	Monthly Average in American Dollars	Percent
Ministry of Industry and Oil -- Oil	549,757,594.82	45,813,132.90	73.35
Ministry of Economy -- Wheat	61,349,295.00	5,112,441.25	8.19
Electricity of Lebanon	52,060,411.68	4,338,367.64	6.95
Ministry of Finance -- Various	36,218,079.75	3,018,173.31	4.83
Ministry of National Defense	18,599,374.54	1,549,947.88	2.48
Ministry of Foreign Af- fairs and Expatriates	12,336,815.58	1,028,067.97	1.65
Council of Development and Reconstruction	6,471,313.30	539,276.11	0.86
Bank of Lebanon	4,259,350.03	354,945.84	0.57
Internal Security For- ces	3,242,228.38	270,185.70	0.43
Ministry of Housing and Cooperatives	1,809,588.03	150,799.00	0.24
Interest	984,251.43	82,020.95	0.13
Ministry of Public Works	822,657.33	68,554.78	0.11
Ministry of Posts	420,735.82	35,061.32	0.06
Various	315,562.08	26,296.84	0.04
Al-Litani Department	250,604.98	20,883.75	0.03
European Cooperation Committee	135,618.13	11,301.51	0.02
Civil Aviation Depart- ment	97,836.27	8,153.02	--
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	85,714.29	7,142.86	--

Scientific Research Council	75,655.58	6,304.63	--
Ministry of Economy and Trade -- Various	60,027.76	5,002.31	--
Ministry of Tourism	32,591.99	2,715.92	--
Lloyds Bank	31,412.83	2,617.70	--
Ministry of Labor	17,123.86	1,426.99	--
Council of Foreign Economic Relations	14,407.20	1,200.60	0.06
Ministry of Health and Social Affairs	12,758.68	1,063.22	--
Customs	8,772.98	731.08	--
Chamber of Deputies	994.43	82.87	--
Municipality of Beirut	105.96	8.83	--
Council of the South	35.00	2.92	--
Total	749,470,916.27	62,455,909.69	100.00

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CSO: 4404/261

RELATIONS WITH INDIA TERMED 'EXCELLENT'

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 22 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Jawed Naqvi]

[Text] INDIA's "more than excellent" relations with this country are going to get a further boost when the UAE's fourth ambassador to New Delhi, Ahmed Al Musally, takes charge there next month.

Mr Musally attributed the blossoming of these relations to the wisdom of the UAE leaders, the President, His Highness Shaikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, and the Vice-President and Prime Minister, His Highness Shaikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum, whose hands of friendship to all non-aligned countries have been the mainstay of the country's foreign policy.

Talking to Khaleej Times yesterday, he said that relations between the two countries were so good that the absence of a resident ambassador in India for over a year did not pose any problems.

"We have no problems which only an ambassador can solve. Our trade is flourishing. Indians form 50 to 60 per cent of the unskilled and semi-skilled workforce in the UAE. Our friendships has stood the test of time. So I don't believe I have any backlog of work awaiting me when I reach New Delhi next month," Mr Musally said.

Asked what he saw as his first task in India he said, "I will present my credentials. That's the first and most immediate task."

Mr Musally said in view of the existing cordiality between his country and

India his job would be mainly to "consolidate the ties."

He said the extension of the joint commission between the two countries would be approved. He could speak about its next meeting only after reaching Delhi.

Mr Musally, 42, was UAE's Consul-General in Iran from 1974 to 1986. He represented the country at the UN general session in 1976 and was head of the UAE delegation at the UN-sponsored conference on environment in Nairobi in 1973.

As a young ambassador—"most of our ambassadors are young"—he hopes to have a hectic and fruitful tenure in India.

India received the first UAE ambassador in 1972. The last envoy Abdul Aziz Al Owais is at present the UAE ambassador to Austria.

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CSO: 4400/177

AVIATION ACCORDS WITH TUNISIA, GREECE

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 9 Mar 87 p 2

[Text]

THE UAE has signed aviation agreements with Tunisia and Greece to cover its air links with the two countries.

Mohammed Yahya Al Suweidi, Assistant Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Communications, returned to Abu Dhabi yesterday after signing the agreements.

He said the agreements named Emirates and Gulf Air as the UAE's national carriers while Tunis Air was named as national carrier for Tunisia

and Olympic Air as national carrier for Greece.

Mr Suweidi said that a memorandum of understanding was also signed to provide for technical cooperation in the field of civil aviation and exchange of expertise between the UAE and the two countries.

Under the agreement, he said, Gulf Air and Emirates would have two flights each in a week while Olympic Airlines would have four flights per week.

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CSO: 4400/177



TRADE WITH EGYPT DISCUSSED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 9 Mar 87 p 19

[Article by Arif Ali]

[Text]

MUSCAT — Egypt has recently passed a number of new laws to encourage foreign investors, its minister of immigration said after talks with the Omani officials here yesterday.

Leading a three-man delegation, Adli Abdul Shaheed Bishai has extended a fresh, open invitation to the Omani businessmen to make use of the incentives offered by Cairo.

"Omani investors are most welcome to Egypt", he said, while thanking the Sultanate for its support in bringing Egypt back to the Arab Federation of Chambers of Commerce.

Omani Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry Ahmed bin Abdulnabi Macki, reciprocating Mr

Bishai's feelings, referred to the "excellent political relations" which bind the two Arab countries. He reviewed the trade relations and said the balance was in Oman's favour.

The under-secretary disclosed that Egypt exported goods worth RO228,285 in 1985. In the same year Oman exported goods worth RO925,708 to Egypt out of its total non-oil shipments accounted for RO120.2 million.

The Egyptian team, Mr Macki said, wanted to launch a regular steamer or air freight service between the two countries to promote trade. The idea would be considered thoroughly, said the under-secretary. He further said that a delegation from the Oman Chamber of Commerce and Industry would visit Egypt in September in response to the invitation of its counterpart in Cairo.

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CSO: 4400/177

## JAPAN HELPS FIGHT WATER POLLUTION

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 8 Mar 87 p 3

[Text] JAPANESE marine experts are to advise the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries on how to minimise pollution in the UAE waters.

Authorities have expressed growing concern over the extent of pollution being spread in the territorial waters of the country by passing ships and vessels.

The Japanese experts would now conduct a survey of the marine areas before submitting a report to the ministry which has been assigned by the cabinet to take appropriate measures to protect the marine environment of the country.

The ministry is already in contact with shipping companies and port authorities to ensure the strict implementation of the anti-pollution laws of the country. Earlier complaints had been lodged through various government agencies about the extent to which some of the oil tankers and other supply vessels are causing damage to the marine life in the region.

The Japanese experts will also provide training to nationals in pollution control and environment protection methods.

Japan, one of the most affected countries due to industrial pollution, has developed modern techniques to counter pollution in the marine areas.

The AGCC countries, meanwhile, are busy developing effective mechanisms to protect the marine environment in the Gulf, through a series of by-laws and multi-lateral agreements.

Meanwhile, periodic surveys of the sea will be carried out by a team of AGCC officials to ensure the protection of the environment.

The Ministry of Agriculture, on the other hand, has requested Japan to help it fight desertification.

Besides developing agricultural methods to increase production in defective soil, the Japanese have been able to convert part of their deserts into green areas.

In Al Ain, the Japanese are successfully manning agricultural green houses, which have been able to grow vegetables and fruits in varying climates. The project is being run under the supervision of the Al Ain Department of Municipality and Agriculture.

The Ministry of Agriculture is now keen to develop its research strategy in coordination with the faculty of agriculture at UAE University. A special agricultural laboratory and research centre are expected to go into operation soon for the purpose.

The Japanese are the only experts who are advising the ministry in both agriculture and fisheries.

IMPORTED ANIMAL FODDER FOUND RADIOACTIVE

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 25 Feb 87 p 2

[Text] NEARLY 10 months after the Chernobyl nuclear disaster a consignment of radioactive animal fodder has been detected by health and port authorities in Sharjah.

According to a spokesman of Sharjah Municipality, the 215-ton cargo arrived at Port Khalid aboard a Turkish ship, 'Alca,' on February 20.

Samples of the fodder were subjected to a routine test for radioactivity. Experts found a "high radioactive content" in the animal food. The ship which was quarantined by the authorities was then told to leave the port on Monday, the spokesman said.

The municipality had sounded a general alert and appropriate authorities including the Secretariat-General of the Municipalities, were promptly informed of the incident, it was stated.

Soon after the Chernobyl accident in April last year, the UAE municipalities had decided to subject all imports from countries neighbouring USSR to radiation tests. It had also been decided to make it compulsory for all cargo to be accompanied by a radiation-free certificate from their respective governments. It is not clear whether the animal fodder aboard 'Alca' was carrying this certificate.

The precise radiation level in the contaminated fodder was not revealed by the authorities.

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CSO: 4400/177

VARIOUS MASSIVE ABU DHABI DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS REVIEWED

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 15 Jan 87 pp 10, 11

[Article by Hamdi Nasr: "2 Billion Dirhams for Development and Improvement Projects Which the Works Department in Abu Dhabi Will Be Carrying out This Year"]

[Text] In the course of the past 20 years, the Works Department in Abu Dhabi has borne on its shoulder the responsibility of preparing studies and supervising the designs and execution of a number of development projects aimed at serving the nation and the citizen.

Today, as it is entering its 21st year, the responsibilities are multiplying, the tasks are growing and the process of carrying out the development plan for the Emirate of Abu Dhabi is becoming a massive obligation upon its neck. At the same time a garland of flowers lies about this neck, following the great successes the department realized in the areas of the execution of education, housing, health and communications projects, and it contributed to a large degree in advancing the wheel of progress and development in the country.

In the face of this success, with its advent upon its 21st year of accomplishments and the approach of the new year, the department is now lifting up a great burden, in order to place it on its own shoulder and set forth with it. The burden is embodied in about 100 projects, of which some are being carried out now and the majority are being presented this year. The total cost comes to more than 2 billion dirhams.

It is currently supervising the construction of a number of ordinary dwellings, and it will also submit a further number for bidding, so that the total number will come to 540, along with 40 schools and kindergartens, 63 new Ministry of Health projects, of which three are hospitals, 12 are clinics and one is a home for orphans, four public building projects and 14 police projects, including a youth home and a passports and customs complex, in addition to road and bridge projects. There are 100 million dirhams for maintenance activities which the department has allocated in its budget this year.

## Support for the Development Process

In the Public Works Department in Abu Dhabi, we had a meeting with His Excellency Khalifah Nasir, deputy director of the department, so that he could talk to us about the projects the department will carry out in the current year. He said, "The accomplishments the department has carried out in the past 20 years are the best proof of the great efforts which it is exerting for the sake of supporting the process of development in the country and contributing to the development and improvement of society. The department has been able to carry out a number of projects in all areas of the emirate, since it has been able in record time to construct a large system of roads and bridges which were the main foundation the department has relied on in carrying out a further number of massive projects. These great successes would not have been realized had it not been for complete support and cogent directives from His Highness Shaykh Zayid Ibn Sultan Al Nuhayyan, the president, and His Highness Shaykh Khalifah ibn Zayid, the crown prince and deputy commander in chief of the armed forces, and absolute attention from both of them to all matters serving the country and the citizen in all areas, and the areas connected to the department's activities in particular."

His Excellency Khalifah Nasir, the deputy director of the department, said, "In the face of the massive tasks which lay on the shoulders of the department, His Highness Muhammad Ibn Battī, the chairman of the department, has expressed interest in the plan to develop the department, so that it will be able to keep abreast of the progress in civilization which it is leading in the various areas of services and so that it will be able to perform its role as thoroughly as possible. The computer system was introduced recently into the department, by way of developing the customary systems in terms of extreme accuracy in performance and speed of accomplishment, and on the basis of participation in all activities in the form of planning programs, the administration of engineering projects, data banks in the administrative and financial contexts and the rapid search for engineering plans and file operations recorded on microfilm. It is also used in the area of architectural designs of formal projects such as schools, housing, mosques and hospitals, since it is possible to make fixed architectural designs for them. With respect to construction considerations, the study of static accounts is taking place by the use of computers, especially in complex projects. In brief, the information center in the Works Department collects and records technical information and data related to the projects listed in the annual development program in terms of their submission for bids, the progress of work on them, the monthly rates of construction and information related to accounts, stores and the people working in the department so that this information can be referred to at any time."

[Question] Your excellency the deputy, could you give us a rapid glance at the department's achievements in the past 20 years?

[Answer] The fact is that the activities are very numerous, more than can be enumerated in a short time. However, the broad lines of these achievements are embodied in the system of massive roads and bridges which extend for hundreds of kilometers. The department has also carried out a number of activities in the area of ports and in the area of airports. The department



built the old Abu Dhabi airport and work is now underway to convert it into an airport handling major visitors. With respect to the new Abu Dhabi airport, that is to be considered one of the largest and newest in the area. The overall costs of constructing it are estimated at about 1.5 billion dirhams. The department is now building the al-'Ayn international airport, which will be an international airport at the highest technical level. The department has constructed a number of government buildings and a number of other projects.

#### Massive Road Projects

This year there are a number of projects the department will carry out in addition to projects on which work is underway now. Among the important projects the department is carrying out are roads and bridges. As you know, there are numerous criteria and various international trends by which the civilization and progress of nations are measured. One of these criteria is ease of communications and transport in the country. Toward the end of developing the communications process, the Works Department in Abu Dhabi has had considerable knowledge in this area. By directives from His Highness Shaykh Zayid Ibn Sultan Al Nuhayyan, the president, and His Highness Shaykh Khalifah Ibn Zayid, the crown prince and deputy supreme commander of the armed forces, the Department of Works is continuing its concentrated activity in the area of the construction, completion and maintenance of the system of external roads in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi and raising it to the highest international levels, although it is at present considered one of the best road systems in the Middle East.

Proceeding from this premise, and out of a total conviction in the importance of the development role the system of external roads plays in the rise and prosperity of the country's level of civilization in all construction, industrial, agricultural, social and security activities, which brings many bounties to the citizens, the department is continuously concerned that the construction and execution of the road system be by means of the most modern technological methods, in accordance with international specifications and standards, and under the supervision of international consulting firms in the area of road activities, so that ultimately it will end up acquiring the highest levels of external high speed roads, secure night and day.

#### Development of the Al-'Ayn-Abu Dhabi Road

[Question] Could you give us an idea about the most important modern road projects the department is carrying out?

His Excellence Khalifah Nasir, the deputy chairman of the Works Department in Abu Dhabi, said, "There is great attention to road projects this year. The department has recently appointed a consulting firm with local and international expertise to study, upgrade and improve the status of the Abu Dhabi-al-'Ayn road, so that it will attain the international level for high-speed roads, in view of the great importance this road possesses because of its geographical position, because it links two big cities in the country and also links the Abu Dhabi, Turayf and Jabal Dhanna roads to the Sultanate of Oman, and because it is a vital road heavy with traffic, especially on weekend days off and holidays.

"The Abu Dhabi-Dubay road is also considered one of the most important external roads in the United Arab Emirates, because first of all it links the capital, Abu Dhabi, with all the northern emirates, and links the country to the other Arab countries, and the flow of cargo transport among the emirates proceeds along it. The density of light and heavy traffic on this route is considered high on this road, especially with the large number of areas and population concentrations extending along the road from al-Mafraq to Sayh Shu'ayb. Therefore, the department, out of concern on its part that this road be in accordance with the most modern international specifications, and out of its conviction in importance, appointed a consulting firm to study an elevated intersection at the villages of old and new al-Samhah situated on both sides of the road. It is currently inviting specialized consultants to study the establishment of an elevated intersection at the junction of the Umm al-Nar-Shahamah road and the roads branching off from the Abu Dhabi road in this area. This is the defense road and the road leading to the village of Shihamah."

#### Elevated Intersections

The deputy chairman of the Works Department in Abu Dhabi went on, "The department is also studying the construction of elevated intersections on the same road at the intersections of the Suwayhan, Rawdat al-Rif, al-'Ajban, Ghanadah and Ghantut roads. In building these elevated bridges, it is following what took place when the elevated intersection was built on the Abu Dhabi-Dubay road at the intersection of the road leading to the al-Tawilah station."

His excellency the deputy chairman of the Works Department said, "Last year the department also completed the project to improve and strengthen the first half of the al-Mafraq road, a road including a dual connection to the town of Turayf, 113 kilometers long, at a cost of 137.5 million dirhams.

"In addition, the department improved and strengthened the first half of the Turayf-Jabal Dhanna road (containing the dual connection to the town of Jabal Dhanna) and built protection and water drainage works for the two above-mentioned areas. The length of the Jabal Dhanna road comes to 113 kilometers, at a cost of 128.10 million dirhams.

"The two roads are now at the highest level of international highways. They have been equipped with traffic signs and instructions and illuminated signs known as cats' eyes. Kilometer signs have also been set out and side vehicle parking spaces have been built every 5 kilometers for trucks to park. A study and designs on the last area of the road are currently being made; this is Jabal Dhanna-al-Sal', 127 kilometers long. It will be at the same level as al-Mafraq-Turayf-Jabal Dhanna."

#### New Educational Installations

His Excellency Khalifah Nasir, the deputy chairman of the Works Department in Abu Dhabi, talked about the new installations in the area of education which the department is building. He said, "They consist of 35 primary, preparatory and secondary schools, in addition to five kindergartens, the total estimated costs of which come to 280 million dirhams.

"In the area of kindergartens, five kindergartens will be built. Their estimated cost will come to 25 million dirhams. This category will be offered in three separate bids according to location. The first group will include the two Muhammad Ibn Qasim and Nuzhat al-Mushrif kindergartens, the second the two al-Maqam and al-Yahr kindergartens, and the third group will contain the Ghiyathi kindergarten. It is expected that the department will take the initiative of presenting the bids in February.

"In the area of primary schools, 14 schools will be built whose estimated costs will come to 115 million dirhams. They have been divided also, into four groups, according to location. The first group contains the Ibn Sina, Halimah al-Sa'diyah, al-Kadani and Ajnadayn schools. The second group contains the al-Farabi schools, a school in Abu Marikhah and a school in East Abu Dhabi 1-4. The third group contains the al-'Ayn schools, which are the al-Saruj public school in al-'Ayn, the al-Saruj public girls' school, Asma' Bint Abu Bakr, al-Jimi and al-Sulaymat. The fourth group includes the Ghiyathi school for girls and Ghiyathi school for boys. The first group of them have been sent for tenders, so that bids on them may be declared, and the other group will be submitted in the fourth quarter of this year.

"As far as preparatory schools go, these are nine in number. Their estimated cost comes to 80 million dirhams. They will be presented in four bids, according to locations. The first group contains the al-Qurayh preparatory schools for boys and girls. The second includes three schools, al-Markhaniyah for boys, al-Markhaniyah for girls and al-Hayli for girls. The third group contains the Bani Yas girls' and boys' preparatory schools and the fourth contains the Bada' Mutawi'ah and the Bada' Zayid preparatory schools. As far as these schools are concerned, the model design is actually ready. There are some modifications, and the consultant is introducing them into the designs. It is expected that the department will initiate their presentation for bids next month, and the bidding on them all will end in the first quarter of this year.

"The area of secondary education: 12 schools will be built and their estimated cost will come to 160 million dirhams. The consultant has completed the design of the special models for these schools, which have been broken down into five groups. In the breakdown, attention has been given to the proximity of the locations to one another and the area in which the group is situated. The first group contained a secondary school for boys and another for girls in Bani Yas, the former in North (one) and the latter in West (four), and a secondary school in Abu Dhabi in the West (47) area. All the specific sites for this group are ready, and there are no obstacles in them.

"The second group contains four schools in the city of al-'Ayn, as follows:

"A boys' secondary school in the al-Maqam area, where the site is ready, a secondary school for girls in the al-Maqam area as well, whose site is ready, a secondary school for boys in the al-Difa' ordinary housing area, whose site is ready, and a secondary school for girls in the al-Jimi (10) area. The site has been modified by an expansion.

"The third group contains three schools: the first is a secondary school for boys in the al-Yahr area, where the site is being modified, then a secondary

school for girls in al-Yahr as well, where the site is being modified, and a secondary school for boys in al-Khaznah, where the site has not yet been determined.

"The fourth group contains a secondary school for girls in Dalma, and the site is ready without obstacles. The fifth group contains a secondary school for girls in Bada' Zayid. The department will take the initiative of receiving the bids this month."

#### 430 Million Dirhams for New Health Projects

His Excellency Khalifah Nasir, the deputy chairman of the Works Department in Abu Dhabi, said, "Attention to the health area is also preoccupying officials. The sum of about 430 million dirhams has been allocated to a number of installations involving this consideration, including the construction of a number of hospitals and wings in the hospitals and clinics in various areas of Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn.

"A plan has been submitted for bidding for the hospital of the aged and disabled in Abu Dhabi. The lowest price submitted was 15.5 million dirhams. It is expected that the project will be handed over to a contractor this month. The project consists of two wings for patients with a capacity of 100 beds, with the services subordinate to them, in addition to the administration wing, along with the natural treatment section.

"The department will also build the al-Zafrah city central hospital, an integrated hospital to serve the people of the western section. In the first stage it will include 100 beds in addition to all the other wings for operations, the laboratory, the kitchen and storerooms. Its total cost is estimated at about 100 million dirhams.

"The gynecological, pediatric and obstetric hospital will also be built in al-'Ayn to treat women's and children's diseases, in addition to special obstetric wings. The hospital will contain 200 beds and the operating, obstetric and pregnant women's outpatient clinic and children's clinic wing will be annexed to that, in addition to laboratories, storerooms and other necessary services for the hospital. The preliminary cost of the project is estimated at 200 million dirhams. It is expected that the designs will be completed this year.

"As part of the health projects, four special wings will be built in the al-Mafraq hospital. They include rooms for patients and the necessary services for them, in addition to a complete operating wing, a medical laboratory, storerooms, a section for obstetrics, a section for laundry and sterilization and a special kitchen in each wing. The cost of the four wings is estimated at 10 million dirhams and it is expected that they will be offered for bidding at the beginning of the second quarter of this year.

#### 10 Clinics in Abu Dhabi and Al-'Ayn

"Included in the projects bearing on health, whose construction the department will take charge of, 10 outpatient clinics will be built in various



areas of Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn. These include a clinic for men and a clinic for women. Each clinic will contain a section for internal ailments, dentistry and eyes and a laboratory, pharmacy and X-ray unit will be annexed to the clinic, with all the necessary services for the operating board. The cost of the clinics is estimated at 27.5 million dirhams. All these clinics are ready to be presented for bids.

"The port clinic will also be established. This is an alternative to the previously proposed hospital, and its costs are estimated at 15 million dirhams.

"Out of concern on the officials' part for people's health and comfort and the provision of all means of health for them, a unit for accidents on the al-Sal' road will be built to receive accidents with immediate treatment. It will contain a small wing for urgent operations and a waiting and isolation room for injured persons, with a place for the operating staff to sleep in. It will also include an X-ray unit and small pharmacy. its cost is estimated at 3 million dirhams. It is expected that it will be offered up for bidding in the first quarter of this year.

"An outpatient clinic will also be constructed in the al-Mafraq hospital which will include six sections for various medical specializations, three of them in the men's section and three in the women's section, in addition to a laboratory, an X-ray unit and a pharmacy, with all the necessary services for these. Its total cost is estimated at 2.3 million dirhams. This project is ready and will be offered for bidding soon."

The projects related to health include a humanitarian one, as his excellency the deputy director of the Works Department in Abu Dhabi said in his discussion of the massive projects the department will carry out this year. He said, "There is a project to construct a home for orphans and a family nursery. This is a project allocated to lodging orphan children, protecting them from vagrancy and making them feel security and confidence. The project includes housing for 60 children, housing for resident employees, recreational and educational services, a medical clinic and an administration building. The cost of the project is estimated at 16 million dirhams and consultants will be invited for the project. It is expected that the design bearing on the project will be completed and it will be offered for bidding this year.

"To modernize preventive medicine, in view of its importance, and to give it a greater capacity to play its part in the area of prevention, two buildings will be built for preventive medicine, in Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn. Each of them will include a center for mother and child care, school health, a pharmacy, a laboratory, a special dentistry section for men and women and an administration building. The costs of the entire project are estimated at about 16 million dirhams.

"A housing complex for doctors will be built at the al-Mafraq hospital. It will consist of three housing units, each unit consisting of 12 residential apartments containing three bedrooms and an annex with outdoor fields, a swimming pool, a supermarket and a public library. The cost of the project is also estimated at 16 million dirhams."



#### 242 Million Dirhams in Ordinary Housing for Citizens

His Excellency Khalifah Nasir, the deputy chairman of the Works Department in Abu Dhabi, talked about the ordinary housing projects the department is building. He said, "By directives of His Highness Shaykh Zayid Ibn Sultan Al Nahayyan, the president, the department is now building 280 ordinary residences in Mahadir Liwa at a cost of 159.8 million dirhams. The grading of their sites is now taking place preparatory to their submission for bidding. The designs of the dwellings are ready in the possession of the department. There also are 110 ordinary dwellings in the al-Wathbah area with road and sewer services, and their cost is estimated at 63 million dirhams. The dwellings have just been offered at a bid and it is expected that they will soon be submitted for construction. Work is also now underway on the construction of 20 dwellings in Dalma and two projects of 30 ordinary dwellings have been presented in Hamim and Khanur in the Liwa area at a cost of 20 million dirhams. Work has also been completed on the construction of 72 ordinary residences in al-Wathbah."

#### 632 Million Dirhams for Public Building Projects

His Excellency Khalifah Nasir, deputy chairman of the Works Department, talked about the public building projects the department is carrying out. He said, "The department has actually finished constructing the Abu Dhabi chamber of commerce and industry building and it has been delivered to the entity benefitting from it. Its cost came to about 71 million dirhams. The total cost of the projects the department is supervising now comes to 632,613,000 dirhams. These include the skating rink which will be opened, God willing, next April in Abu Dhabi. Its cost came to 32 million dirhams.

"The department is also constructing the central prison project in Abu Dhabi at a cost of 144 million dirhams, and it is expected that construction of the project will take place at the end of this year. It includes administrative offices, a prison for men, another one for women, a workshop for prisoners, a mosque, playing fields, a clinic, kitchens, laundries, central cafeterias, a stage, classrooms, security walls and observation towers.

#### 420 Million Dirhams for the Ministry of Information Complex

"The projects which will be submitted for construction in the second half of this year include that of the Ministry of Information complex and the radio and television studios. The cost of this massive project will come to 420 million dirhams. It is now in the bidding process at the present time. The project includes the main building, which consists of the ministry building, with all its offices, the radio and television offices, the television production and television transmission building with all its annexes, the television film department building, the transmission tower, television and radio transmission equipment, studios and production equipment."

#### 289 Million Dirhams for Projects Related to the Police

His Excellency Khalifah Nasir, deputy chairman of the Works Department in Abu Dhabi, said, "There are a number of projects related to the police

listed in the annual development program this year, including those that have entered the construction stage and those that are still under design. They include a group of guard posts, which in general contain an administration building, reception and complaint offices, cells for men and women, rest areas and sleeping areas. These guard posts are:

"The al-Kuwaytat police guard post, costing 3,561,000 dirhams; that is currently being built and it is expected that it will be completed by the end of this year.

"The Umm al-Zumul police guard post, at a cost of 7,789,000 dirhams; construction on it is underway at present and it is expected that it will also be built by the end of this year.

"The al-Khalidiyah police guard post, at a cost of 6,768,000 dirhams; its construction is underway now, and it is expected that it will be completed by the end of this year as well.

"The Shihamah police guard post, at a cost of 4,178,000 dirhams. It is also being built at present and it is expected that it will be completed by the end of the summer of this year.

"The al-Ruways police guard post, at a cost of 6,934,000 dirhams. It is expected that it will be completed by the end of this year as well.

"The harbor police guard post, at a cost of 3,186,000 dirhams. It is being built, the rate of construction on it now comes to about 60 percent and it is expected that it will be completed in the second quarter of this year.

"The police guard posts in Dalma and al-Wajn, at a primary cost of 7.5 million dirhams each. The preparation of designs for them is underway and it is expected that they will be presented for bidding in the second half of this year.

"The projects related to the police also include the project to construct the Turayf police department in Zayid City. The project has been submitted for bidding and the preliminary cost is estimated at approximately 28 million dirhams. It includes a complex which contains all the branches belonging to the police. It consists for the most part of a main building and administration, reception and complaint offices, places for detaining men and women, housing for married officers, a restaurant with annexes for the officers, a club for officers, barracks for troops, a clinic, a mosque, a machinery maintenance shop and storerooms. The project will be handed over to a contractor for construction.

"With respect the firing ranges in Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn, designs have been prepared for the project, which includes external, open firing ranges, enclosed firing ranges, centers for trainees, various halls, spectators' podiums, external activities and services. The cost of these two projects is estimated at 32 million dirhams.

## The Immigration, Passport and Customs Complex in Al-Sal'

"In carrying out the provision of maximum resources for comfort for travelers and workers, officials have considered it necessary to establish a complex for immigration, passports and customs in al-Sal'. That contains all branches that are related to travelers and cars coming to and leaving the United Arab Emirates. It includes the main building, a canopy for inspection, customs, passports and health offices, a police center, housing for officers and other housing for single persons, a public cafeteria, a mosque, a restaurant for officers, parking places for cars and entry and exit gateways."

## A Special System for Inspecting Trucks

His Excellency the Deputy Chairman of the Public Works Department in Abu Dhabi referred to the presence of a building for inspecting trucks in accordance with the most modern specifications, as it saves effort and time and is more accurate. [He said] "It includes a system for inspecting massive containers which pass constantly through this border point, carrying foodstuffs, and other trucks to and from the country. This system will provide rapid, economic and also effective security methods for inspecting all containers. This system, as I said, will be inside the building, which has particular specifications for guaranteeing the health and safety of the people working in it. Inspection will take place by the use of the latest technological innovations, which include high-power chest X-ray examinations. The chest X-ray examination apparatus includes a camera and an apparatus for highlighting the picture and detailing the elements in it, in addition to a television screen connected to the recorder. This system examines the space inside the container and the chemical effects of narcotics and explosives can be discovered. The movement of containers within the inspection complex will be normal, will not require special equipment and will be without complications. This complex is considered a good accomplishment which will provide much for the security and customs men, in view of the widespread use of containers for shipping goods."

## Modernizing the Police Faculty Buildings

His excellency the deputy chairman of the Works Department continued his conversation about the projects the department is carrying out related to the police and said, "There is a plan that has been set out to modernize all the buildings of the faculty in accordance with the most modern systems and methods followed internationally. Work is now underway on the first stage of it, which will include housing for candidates, a club and cafeteria for candidates, a central kitchen and a lecture hall. The cost of these works is estimated at 15 million dirhams and designs are now being prepared for them. It is expected that they will be put up for bidding in the first half of this year."

"In addition, it is expected that the project for the civil defense department building in al-'Ayn will be handed over to the executive council soon, after having been put up for bidding. It will cost about 7 million dirhams. It will consist of the administration building, a shop, elevated water

tanks, a rest area and sleeping quarters for the officers, troops and employees, a car wash, roofed canopies for fire trucks, training areas for firefighters and a meeting hall.

#### A Youth Home Costing 35 Million Dirhams

"The last project the Works Department is supervising bearing on the police is the project to construct a home for youths. That is a project that has been allocated to the evaluation of young boys and girls in order to guarantee that they not go astray after they leave the care home. The project includes a building for public administration, reception, health treatment, housing for young males and further housing for young females, a building for education and vocational accreditation, an enclosed sports hall, a workshop, a swimming pool, security walls, buildings for necessary services, parking for cars, roads and external activities. The cost of the project is estimated at about 35 million dirhams."

#### Maintenance Activities

His Excellency Khalifah Nasir, the deputy director of the Works Department in Abu Dhabi, said "The great activities that the department is carrying out always require constant followup, same as all other buildings. Therefore, the department performs maintenance and repair activities and additions to the buildings of government departments, palaces, Ministry of Health hospitals, certain cultural sporting clubs, the cultural complex, the Society of the Resurgence of Abu Dhabi Women, the women's federation, government villas and Ministry of Education schools in the areas of Abu Dhabi, al-'Ayn and the Western Province. These activities include maintenance, repairs, civil, health and electrical additions, building decor activities, maintenance activities, electrical installation and mechanical equipment operation, central air conditioning and electric elevators.

"The value of the sums spent in 1986 came to about 60 million dirhams, including 35 million for schools and the rest for government buildings and other buildings.

"With respect to the current year, the department will carry out supervision of maintenance and repair activities, improvements and additions to the buildings of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs in Abu Dhabi and the mosque buildings in Abu Dhabi, the Western Province and al-'Ayn at a preliminary cost of 11 million dirhams. The value of anticipated maintenance activities and minor projects for this year is estimated at 100 million dirhams."

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**SOLUTION FOR AFGHAN PROBLEM: CUT OFF WEST'S 'INTERFERENCE'**

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 26 Feb 87 p 2

[Text] THE LATEST round of indirect talks in Geneva between representatives of Pakistan and the Kabul regime which are to last for three weeks began yesterday. These negotiations are being conducted through the mediation of special United Nations envoy Mr. Diego Cordovez. The talks began in 1982, the latest round was held last summer, but so far they have achieved no results in solving the bloody war in Afghanistan.

Yesterday's session of so-called proximity talks in Geneva began under conditions that there are new hopes for the solution of the eight-year-old Afghan conflict. The active diplomacy in the past few months especially by the countries directly involved, i.e. Iran, Pakistan and the Soviet Union, and even India, shows that the solution of the issue may have reached a decisive stage.

The new Soviet leadership apparently wants a solution to the problem and withdrawal of all its occupation forces from the country. Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's speech of last July 28 led to a partial withdrawal of 8,000 Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Even though this was a very small number, less than 10 percent of the total Russian force, however it was considered a significant move.

The government of Mr. Najibullah in Kabul last month declared a so-called national reconciliation program, which included a unilateral cease-fire in the war with the Afghan Mujahideen guerillas, an amnesty and an offer to form a coalition government. Of course this plan was dictated to Najibullah's regime by the Kremlin leaders, and is in fact considered Moscow's desire to end the Afghan adventure. But the initiative has faced utter failure and as of yet we cannot be too optimistic for a quick solution of the war, because there are many problems standing in the way of reaching a comprehensive peace agreement.



But these days what is being increasingly discussed among political circles is the Islamic Republic of Iran's plan for ending the Afghan conflict. The Islamic Republic has proposed quadripartite talks among the Afghan Mujahideen, who are the real representatives of the Afghan people, the Soviet Union, Iran and Pakistan.

The fact that the Geneva talks after five years have proved no results strengthens the Islamic Republic's stance. In fact the real cause of the failure of these talks is the absence of the true representatives of the Afghan Moslem nation. It is almost certain that no key accord will be reached in the latest round of Geneva talks in which Mr. Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, the Pakistani foreign minister and Mr. Abdul Wakeel, his new Afghani counterpart, are taking part.

The best solution for the Afghan issue is to Asianize it, and cut off the interference of Western states from the affair. All the regional states and even the Afghan Mujahideen themselves, agree that Afghanistan should be an independent and genuinely non-aligned country. Under no circumstances should the Western powers, especially the U.S., be allowed to gain domination in Afghanistan in the place of Russia. It is clear that a U.S.-backed regime in Kabul would be no different than the current Soviet-backed one there.

Soviet leaders should realize the fact that their military presence in Afghanistan has given the United States a pretext to widen its own military intervention in the region, particularly in the Sea of Oman and the Indian Ocean. In fact, the present administration in Washington would not like to see the Afghan problem solved. Western imperialists intend to take advantage of this conflict, and the longer the war lasts, the more it is in the interests of USA.

Therefore, if Mr. Gorbachev wants to deprive Washington of its pretexts to increase its military presence further in the region, he should consider a speedy withdrawal of all Soviet occupation forces from Afghanistan.

The Kabul regime has said it is bringing new proposals on Soviet withdrawal to the latest round of Geneva talks. But according to various sources

Kabul is thinking in terms of years, while the Pakistani government insists on four-month period for withdrawal of all Soviet troops.

In order to extricate itself from the political and military mess in Afghanistan, the Kremlin needs to take a courageous and radical decision. Of course prospects for this are dim considering the nature of the Soviet government and leadership. But we hope Mr. Gorbachev has the courage to take a fundamental decision in the interests of all the parties involved to the conflict.

## REPORT ALLEGES CHAKMAS BEING TERRORIZED BY BANGLADESHI

New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English 15 Mar 87 pp 76-80

[Text]

FOR the past nine months, Chakma refugees have been fleeing Bangladesh terrorised by the Bangladesh Army. Last fortnight, the Buddhist tribals came in waves into Tripura swelling to over 45,000, haunted by memories of their women raped, houses burnt and people mercilessly shot or hacked to death. Senior Correspondent RAMESH MENON with Photographer PRASHANT PANJIAR visited the makeshift camps in Tripura set up by the state Government, where anger and tragedy punctuated the atmosphere. His report on the atrocities and the problems the new refugees pose.

**E**XACTLY 16 years ago, the jungles were swarming with thousands of terrified refugees fleeing from the barbaric atrocities of the Pakistan Army. That influx led to one of the bloodiest births in modern history—the creation of Bangladesh. And now, the wheel of tragedy has come full circle. Last fortnight, the same jungles along the borders of Tripura were once again alive with a steadily growing flood of refugees fleeing in terror from the atrocities of the Bangladesh armed forces.

They are history's least-known refugees and the tragic dimensions of their situation have largely gone unnoticed, and unreported. But the tales of horror brought by the Chakmas, the Buddhist tribes living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, are vocal witness to the nightmare they are escaping from, and to the only sanctuary they can find—India.

Each day, as dusk drops its shroud of darkness over the dense forests, entire families of Chakmas, many barefooted and carrying their meagre belongings, slip across the border to India. The influx started nine months ago and by last fortnight there were around 45,000 Chakmas in the overcrowded, makeshift refugee camps set up by the Tripura Government.

From the Indian point of view, the

steady influx of a growing number of refugees is a serious problem with alarming ramifications. But on humanitarian grounds, there is no way the state Government can put a stop to it. The stories of brutalities brought by each family point to a human tragedy of massive proportions—another genocide. Anil Chakma from Pablakhali village in the hill tracts, entered India with his wife and four children on February 9. They had walked barefoot through the jungles surviving on bamboo shoots and wild roots. They had decided to flee after the Bangladesh Army unleashed an orgy of violence—attacked



their village, beat up Chakma men, raped their women and burnt and looted their houses.

The litany of horror is repeated with each arrival. Annai Marma, 32, from Khagrachheri district sobs as she recounts how six army men beat up her husband and then gang-raped her in front of him. Nundibala Chakma, 39, saw her husband being shot dead before being dragged to an army camp and gang-raped for two days. Tanyajuri Chakma, who came into Tripura last fortnight, still nurses festering wounds on her breasts where her nipples were bitten off by Bangladesh army personnel. Says she tonelessly: "The army jawans usually encircle a Chakma village, segregate men and then rape the women. The younger and beautiful ones are taken to army camps and kept for many days." Lambracha Murmal, a pretty 16-year-old girl, is still in a state of shock. In mid-December, she was raped by three jawans who took her into a forest and kept her there for a few days. She managed to escape from their clutches and join other Chakmas seeking sanctuary in India.

It is hardly surprising that none of the Chakma refugees are prepared to return to Bangladesh. Specially now that the Bangladesh military offensive against the Chakma tribals has been stepped up to crush the insurgent operations of the Shanti Bahini guerrillas, led by young Chakmas who are demanding autonomy.

The insurgency has been going on for at least a decade and has claimed thousands of lives on both sides. Bangladesh President H.M. Ershad told newly-elected parliament members in mid-July of 1986 that in the last 10 years about 1,000 people had been killed. Shanti Bahini sources put the figure at least ten times more. Whatever the truth, the Chakmas pouring into India believe that returning to Bangladesh means certain death. According to figures released by the respected human rights organisation Amnesty International, over 800 Chakmas have been killed in the last eight months in the hill tracts following army operations.

The Bangladesh Government had agreed to take back 24,000 refugees beginning from January 15, but the Chakmas refused to leave. When Indian security forces tried to collect them together to send them back to Bangladesh, many of

them fled into the nearby forests while others flatly refused to budge from the relief camps. Their argument was simple and spoke volumes for what they had undergone—that if they crossed over to the hill tracts, they would be killed. And if they were going to die, they would rather die in India than in Bangladesh. Says Bhagat Singh, CRPF commandant: "We were helpless. The Chakmas just sat tight saying that we could shoot them but they would not go back."

The fact that more refugees are pouring in every day with fresh stories of the genocide in the hill tracts, has only strengthened their resolve to stay in India.

Said Sujata Chakma, 13: "We will go back only after we get Independence." The memory of the atrocities which she witnessed, including her friends being gang-raped by Bangladesh army jawans, is graphically engraved in her young mind.

With the refugee flow increasing each day, the Tripura Government is faced with an unenviable task. Strapped for resources, it has already spent over Rs 2.25 crore on the Chakmas in the last nine months. But money is not the only problem. The major concern centres around the fact that a few hundred Chakmas have left the refugee camps and infiltrated into the interior, taken up local jobs and show every sign of settling down permanently. Intelligence sources fear that Tribal National Volunteer (TNV) extremists might also infiltrate into India from Bangladesh in the guise of refugees.

Tripura Chief Minister Nripen Chakraborty has tried to draw the attention of the Centre to the need to stop what he termed as "the sea of humanity flowing into Tripura", but with little success so far. Chief Secretary N.P. Navani feels that though the state is being saddled with a problem of complex dimensions, they cannot ignore it either because of the humanitarian issues involved.

**T**HE camps at Silacheri, Kathalcheri, Korbook and Takumbari—all close to the Bangladesh border—are as

Chakraborty says, a sea of humanity, with hundreds of displaced families attempting to stitch together the bits of their shattered lives. On some days, the state Government finds it difficult to accommodate the refugees as they come in hundreds and are forced to sit out in the open, huddling together for warmth during the chilly nights.

The Chakma crisis is essentially one of identity. During partition, the Chakmas were angered when the British granted the 5,138 square miles of the Chittagong Hill Tracts to erstwhile east Pakistan. Chakma leader Snehkumar Chakma rushed to New Delhi to beg that the area be allowed to remain part of India. But nothing came of it. Gopal Chakma, one of the tribal leaders who has been living in India for the last decade, feels that India was not concerned since the Chakmas who occupied the hill tracts were politically unorganised.

Soon after the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, another Chakma leader Manobendra Narayan Larma, led a delegation to Dhaka to ask the late prime minister Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, if the Chakmas living in the hill tracts could be given autonomy and a ban imposed on the entry of non-tribals into the area. Mujibur would have none of it, as he said: "Bangladesh will never recognise any dual identity."

Realising that there was no political solution, the Shanti Bahini was formed with the idea of gaining autonomy through an armed struggle. But an added problem arose in 1974 when an economic crisis forced Dhaka to encourage poor Muslim Bengalis to settle in the hill tracts. This was partially to meet the demands of land-hungry peasants in the heavily-populated plains. But more important, the resettlement was a device to ensure alteration of the demographic position of the hill tracts which were dominated by the Chakmas. Almost overnight, the Chakma population in the hill tracts was reduced from 98 per cent to around 70 per cent.

**M**OREOVER, most of the resettled Muslim peasants were ex-service-men. This was a deliberate ploy to dampen the Chakma insurgency and also ensure that the Chakma villagers, who are basically simple people, would be prevented from giving shelter to Shanti Bahini guerrillas. Inevitably, the target of the insurgents became the Muslim resettlers. Last fortnight, over 200 casualties were recorded in the hill tracts as the Shanti Bahini raided army camps and Muslim settlements. The Bahini fields over 7,000 guerrillas, 2,000 of whom are armed, and the recent renewal of atrocities has ensured that their number will increase. Says Jorna Chakma whose husband, Chandrakanta, was killed last year: "More youngsters will join the Shanti Bahini now. We just cannot be wiped out."

The continuing ethnic and communal strife in the hill tracts have left the Chakmas bitter and revengeful. Says Shantibikas Chakma, a high school teacher: "Our only hope now is armed combat. After all these years of oppression, there can be no short cuts." Triptimoy Chakma, 21, whose father was killed before his eyes when he was just six years old, says defiantly: "If our future generations are to live like human beings, we have to take the guns on our shoulders." Most Chakma youngsters feel the same way.

But there are dangerous implications in this for the Indian Government. As with the Tamil militants from Sri Lanka, India could be caught in a diplomatic fix if the Chakmas decide to carry on their armed struggle from Tripura. Despite this, New Delhi seems to be surprisingly complacent about the issue and no effort has been made to put pressure on Dhaka to stop the brutalities across the border.

Chakma leaders say that they will only go back if a tripartite meeting between representatives of Bangladesh, India and the Chakmas themselves produces an assurance that the persecutions will definitely stop.

But there is little likelihood of that happening. The general feeling among government officials is that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has chosen to play down the Chakma issue during his leadership of the South Asian Association for Regional

Cooperation.

Admittedly, there are no easy solutions. But New Delhi's current complacency may cost the country heavily. Tripura is already affected by INV extremism. The influx of thousands of tribals from Bangladesh, who obviously intend to settle down in the state, will only increase ethnic pressures—and give INV extremists added leverage and scope. The Chakmas may have been Dhaka's problem but they are increasingly becoming India's as well now.

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CSO: 5600/4771

## PAPER ELABORATES ON ISSUES DISCUSSED WITH SOVIETS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 16 Feb 87 p 2

[Text]

MR. Ali Akbar Velayati who had travelled to Moscow on an official trip to the Soviet Union arrived back home last Friday. This was the first trip to the Soviet Union by an Iranian foreign minister in the past 50 years, and the highest-level delegation to visit Moscow since the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979.

Upon arrival in Tehran, Mr. Velayati told IRNA on the outcome of his talks in Moscow. "In the meetings with Soviet officials, we told them resources placed at the Iraqi regime's disposal are being used for continuation of the Baathist regime's brutal acts and aggression and atrocities like attacks on towns; only make our people more resolute to overthrow the warmonger Iraqi regime'.

He added, 'We told the Soviet officials we believe no country has the right to interfere in Iraq's internal affairs, that the country's future belongs to its people and that we will defend its independence and territorial integrity against any foreign intervention'.

Thus unfortunately, the Soviet stance on the Iraqi imposed war remains the same even after Mr. Velayati's important trip and Soviets are not ready to acknowledge Iraqi crimes, let alone condemn them or take practical action against them. Soviet officials think maintenance of balance in the war is the same as neutrality in the war, something which is not justifiable by any political theory. In recent days with the escalation of inhuman and criminal Iraqi attacks on Iranian cities including Tehran by advanced Soviet-supplied Iraqi warplanes, the anti-Russian atmosphere among Iranian people has intensified and has in fact acquired dangerous dimensions. The Kremlin leaders are well aware of this fact.

The other main topic discussed by Mr. Velayati and his accompanying delegation was the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The Soviet officials were also anxious to know of the latest Iranian stance on the issue after last week's trip of Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahibzadeh Yaqub Khan to Moscow.

Mr. Velayati said in his talks with Soviet officials he had noted that the only decisive and final solution to the Afghanistan problem is withdrawal of occupation forces and awarding the Afghan nation the legitimate right to determine its own destiny.

In the meeting with Soviet President Gromyko, Mr. Velayati said the Islamic Republic supports an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan which would have friendly relations with all its neighbors. He expressed hope that this would soon materialize in light of the recent stated Soviet stance on withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan.

According to reports, President Gromyko criticized Iran's policy on Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic's support for what he called "armed bandits". Apparently, President Gromyko was referring to Afghan refugees in Iran and the Afghan combatant Mujahid groups who are fighting for the liberation of their homeland from Soviet occupation for the past eight years.

The Islamic Republic has not budged in its position on the conflict in Afghanistan. Very recently, President Seyyed Ali Khamenei met with leaders of several Afghan Mujahideen groups in Tehran and encouraged them to expand their struggles against the Kabul regime. These Iran-based combatant Mujahid groups are trying to form a united coalition.

It remains to be seen how much the Soviets will stick to their word on withdrawing from Afghanistan and creation of a non-aligned, independent government in this country. Moreover, if the Soviets want good relations with Islamic Iran and friendship of the Iranian Moslem nation, they should stop massive arms supplies to the Iraqi regime, and contain it in its brutal acts against innocent Iranian civilians.



SPAIN PROVIDES IRAN WITH MASSIVE ARMS SHIPMENTS

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 11 Feb 87 p 20

[Article by Shawqi Idris: "\$320 Million in Spanish Arms to Iran"]

[Text] A Spanish industrial source affirmed yesterday to AL-QABAS that the Spanish government, which is premiated by the socialist Felipe Gonzales, recently agreed to sell \$320 million in arms to Iran.

These basically include 105- and 155-millimeter artillery shells and 81- and 120-millimeter mortar shells.

Arab sources directly involved with the Gulf war, whom AL-QABAS has sought to make contact with lately, have expressed their deep anxiety and disapproval regarding this information, especially in the light of the declared official Spanish positions regarding the Iraqi-Iranian war. The disclosure of this information is coming in the wake of the visit the Spanish prime minister made last month to Tunisia and Egypt. Senior officials in these two countries, in addition to the secretary general of the Arab League, asked him to get Spain to stop selling arms to Iran.

It can be inferred from the information which has been accumulated in AL-QABAS' possession that there are objective reasons which might have prompted the entities concerned to leak the news of this transaction. One of the most conspicuous of these reasons is that the Spanish company which concluded the transaction with Iran, a new company called (Gamera), previously came up against many obstacles when it turned to various European countries like Austria, The Netherlands and Portugal to provide the materials it was lacking to conclude the transaction. The source of these obstacles always was the intervention of American intelligence, which tried to obstruct the sale of Spanish weapons to Iran, but, after the scandal of the sale of the American weapons to Iran, condemnation among circles of officials in this company was widespread, especially since they had been compelled to pay exorbitant commissions to complete the transaction.

Another reason, as a Spanish political source asserted to AL-QABAS, was the presence of a covert struggle among the Spanish organizations producing and exporting arms, such as those where the government owns the majority and those the private sector owns, like (Gamera).

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DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER EXTOLS NATION'S PROGRESS IN WAR

Tehran AL-SHAHID in Arabic 4 Feb 87 pp 16-18

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Ali Mohammad Besharati by Hasan Yusufi: "Let the Conferences Make Their Decisions; The Arms of Our Noble Fighting Men Will Decide the War"]

[Text] In the course of AL-SHAHID's series of interviews with the leaders of the Islamic revolution and officials in the Islamic Republic, our meeting in this issue has been with Mr Ali Mohammad Besharati, the Iranian deputy foreign minister. In it, he talked about the latest developments of the situation on the international and Islamic stage, in particular the developments in the Ba'thist war against Islam and the war of the camps in Lebanon. He also answered the questions of our colleague Hasan Yusufi, who held the interview, concerning the Islamic conference and the circumstances surrounding the release of the American hostages in Lebanon.

AL-SHAHID: What is your evaluation of the participation by Islamic opposition forces in the conference of support for the Iraqi people?

[Answer] In the name of God the all-merciful most compassionate: praise be to God, lord of the two worlds. God defends those who believe.

The conference of support for the Iraqi people which was held in Tehran over a period of 4 days was a suitable opportunity for all the figures and forces that are fighting against the Ba'th regime in Iraq and are working to bring down this regime which is hostile to humanity to meet together and work through mutual acquaintance to draw up a strategy for doing away with the regime of Saddam, which has eliminated all forms of civilization in Moslem Iraq and has paved the way again for the hegemony of the international forces of arrogance over the wounded Iraqi people. The conference, in my opinion, has realized successes in this area.

The Islamic Republic in Iran has so far played an effective role in bringing the groups of the Iraqi opposition together, and it must pursue this role till the end of the journey.

AL-SHAHID: You have made a number of visits on behalf of mediation to end the war of the camps. What in your opinion is the faction that has worked to

inflame the war of the camps again? Has the mediation of the Islamic Republic ended, or will it still continue?

[Answer] That is a good question. To answer it, we must go back in time a little to seek the roots and causes of the civil war which has been raging over Lebanon for more than 10 years.

Following the developments which occurred in Iran and led to the victory of the Islamic revolution and the defeat of the forces of world arrogance, the Moslem people in Lebanon, especially the Shiites, who flourished under the leadership of Imam Musa al-Sadr -- indeed all the Moslem fighting men, Shiite and Sunnite, who had become frustrated with the stupidity and incompetence of certain heads of Arab states -- stiffened their resolve and took up arms on behalf of the struggle against the hegemony of Israel and its agents. This transformation created a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Islamic peoples, especially the Lebanese Moslem people, whose struggle changed the course of history and smashed the myth of the Zionist entity, which for a long period had constituted a source of threats and terrorization for all the countries of the region, and rubbed the nose of Israel, and in reality the noses of all the forces which support this statelet, in the mud. It is clear that the forces of arrogance have not been content with this development, and imperialism, Zionism and socialist imperialism stood up to it alike.

America has not been able to keep abreast of this new activity, because it is the one which created Israel as an observation post for itself in the region to cope with the upheavals the Islamic peoples are making in the strategic Middle East region. The same is the case with respect to Israel, which is only one of the states of the United States. Therefore, both Zionism and imperialism have been afflicted with severe panic in this regard.

With respect to socialist imperialism, it has basically opposed this sort of movement because it cannot tolerate any movement based on religion. The same is the case with respect to the reactionary governments. While these governments had been a place of refuge and shelter for the Moslem Arab peoples, who had become exasperated by the repeated Israeli invasions, the peoples have learned today that these governments were leading them in the wilderness and that reliance on them meant standing in America's embrace. Therefore, the new movement has provoked the anger of the reactionary countries as well.

The fourth group which has shown disapproval and whose anger has been provoked by the Islamic movement in Lebanon consists of those who have falsely claimed leadership of the liberation movement.

Therefore, Zionism, America and its allies, the Soviet Union and its allies, and the reactionary countries, in addition to the so-called liberation movements which are providing grist for the American mill -- all these rushed all over themselves like dogs in opposition to the Lebanese people's Islamic movement and sought to weaken this movement. In the wake of this furious rush, the civil war in Lebanon intensified.

Why? The reason in our view is to abort all mass people's movement against Israel.

The holy Koran says, "You will find that the people most intensely hostile to those who believe are the Jews and the pagans." This verse asserts in a manner that leaves no room for any doubt that the most intransigent enemies of the Moslems are the Jews. Here there is no difference between the Jews and the reactionary governments and leaders who support them, such as King Husayn, King Hassan and Husni the non-Mubarak [unblessed]. It is clear that these people are intensively resisting the Islamic movement in Lebanon, and, as we see, at every stage when the struggle of the Moslem people in Lebanon witnesses an escalation against the Israeli presence, the war of the camps is stirred up to divert the fighting forces in Lebanon from directing the muzzles of their weapons at the main enemy.

The position of the Islamic Republic regarding this issue is clear and spelled out in the context of its political principles and its Islamic beliefs. We do not want and will not allow people's gaze to be diverted from Israel to another area. Awhile ago we went to Lebanon, and after contacts with the fighting learned men of religion and some political officials who evinced a constructive response, and everyone articulated their disapproval that the Islamic forces should be diverted from fighting Israel, we were successful in concluding an agreement for a cease fire among the belligerent parties.

There is a fact regarding the civil war in Lebanon, and that is that it is inflamed after every escalation in the Islamic forces' operations against Israel. The latest war was inflamed and assumed totally broader dimensions after the escalation of the attacks by Lebanese Moslems on the positions and concentrations of the Zionist forces, in which a number of persons from these forces were taken prisoner and others of them were killed, which forced Antoine Lahad to resign and made Israel tire of continuing its support for what is called the Army of Southern Lebanon.

The former foreign minister of Israel, Abba Eban, pointed more than once to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and considered it a great mistake. The same holds with respect to Yitzhak Shamir, Shimon Peres and others whom the Lebanese Moslems' operations have heavily oppressed and who have expressed their despair at confronting these operations.

Yes, in such circumstances we find civil war and the war of the camps flaring up again in Lebanon.

Apart from this analysis, there is a treasonous hand which is inflaming the fire of this war so that the northern borders of Israel will remain safe, and it is clear that this body, which no longer has respect or repute, now that it has embezzled \$7.5 billion from the reactionary governments and turned into a major capitalist corporation, will not allow a competitor to it to appear on the stage which will deprive it of its reputation, and therefore it operates from time to time in Lebanon with internal issues and is diverted from fighting Israel.

As far as we are concerned, we are holding to our position and we will continue our role of halting the civil war and the war of the camps until we put a stop to these sorts of practices.

AL-SHAHID: But in your answer you have not specified exactly who those are who have once again inflamed the war of the camps!

[Answer] They are without a doubt the partisans of 'Arafat, and I mean the body which 'Arafat recently created.

AL-SHAHID: What is the Lebanese groups' role in this area?

[Answer] They are no worse off than the front mentioned above.

AL-SHAHID: The forces of world arrogance, headed by America, have, by devious, complex means, tried to establish relations with the Islamic Republic in Iran. The most recent of those has been the McFarlane scandal. What in your view was the American delegation's goal, in its illegal visit to Iran?

[Answer] The Islamic Republic in Iran is the strongest country in the region and it enjoys a strategic position which is unique for its kind. Therefore, we find that interest exists on America's part to establish relations with us. In addition to that, America, after the fall of the Shah, sought a force to take the place of the Shah and for various reasons and factors its choice fell on Saddam. In order to show his competence to the forces of world arrogance and in order to protect reaction in the region and implant his presence, Saddam launched a military aggression against Iran, but the leader of al-Qadisiyah, who dreamed of occupying Khuzestan in a week, today is no longer secure with himself, even in Baghdad, and that is an extremely important thing as far as reaction is concerned, and the point which I will refer to is extremely sensitive.

The Eastern and Western forces of world arrogance are supplying Saddam with the most modern and complicated types of weapons. The Soviet Union is supplying him with Tupolev, Sukhoi, MiG-25 and 27 and also MiG-29 aircraft and Frog-7 missiles, as well as T-55, T-57, T-72 and T-82 tanks. France puts its supersonic-type airplanes, such as the Super Etendard, and Exocet missiles at the disposal of Iraq, Britain supplies Saddam with chemical weapons and long-range artillery, and America puts helicopters at Iraq's disposal and supplies it with secret information concerning our military situation which the satellites and AWACS aircraft pick up. On top of all that, there is the unlimited financial support the reactionary countries in the region provide and the media support the Zionist news agencies offer to Saddam's regime. Conversely, there is an economic and military boycott against the Islamic Republic, and we are forced to procure spare parts for some of our weapons from the black market and face numerous problems in procuring them. In spite of all that, we find Saddam being defeated day after day. It might be a normal and ordinary thing as far as we are concerned, since we are going through it in our conditions every day, but it provokes amazement and bewilderment as far as the heads of the other countries go. In our direct meetings with them in our visits to the other countries, they express their amazement and astonishment, asking us: What is the secret regarding this matter? They feel the power of the Islamic Republic. The Americans also -- they are not stupid, they well know what the resources they have placed at Saddam's disposal are, but he is being defeated even though he possesses these resources, and they feel the extent of the strength and power of Islamic Iran.



Therefore establishing relations with a strong Iran would constitute a winning hand as far as America goes, strengthening its position.

This is on the one hand. On the other, America has faced problems as a result of the policy of violence and enmity which it has adopted toward Iran. We do not stand on ceremony and will not allow anyone to deprecate us. We stand up to everyone who opposes us, and will not allow any country whatever to act with us as it wishes. We reject the principle of inflaming crisis in the situation and opening new fronts. Therefore, America has come to us through the door of peace and has come apologetic and regretful in order to be spared our vindictiveness and vengeance.

McFarlane was a prominent figure in the American administration. He was the national security advisor to the American president. However, the officials here did not receive him, as His Eminence Imam Khomeyni ordered, and he went back where he came from.

We told them, "You are the ones who imposed the war on us and today you want to give us weapons to continue the war. Stop your support for Saddam so that the war will end." We refused to receive them, their situation was laid bare after that, and they lost their reputation.

Reagan, who came to prominence as the strongest American president after the war, prostrated himself with an artistic stroke on the part of the Islamic Republic. This was another lesson to the presidents of countries which did not yet know the Islamic Republic in Iran. We defeated Carter previously. Carter was a good president from the American standpoint and Reagan was a strong president, but he bent like a leaf before the fists of the Islamic revolution. They were strong before themselves and very weak in the face of the glory and majesty of the Islamic revolution. Therefore, the causes which prompted the Americans to try to establish relations with the Islamic Republic in Iran can be summarized in three points:

1. Getting a winning card and international prestige by establishing relations with such a strong, powerful country as the Islamic Republic.
2. Security and stability will not be established in the Middle East region without the blessings of Iran, and they know that well.
3. Pursuing peaceful means to turn around Iran, which always caused America to lose face, when the latter used the right of the veto in the international Security Council. However, all their methods failed and they were defeated in all their attempts.

AL-SHAHID: Since we have dealt with America in the discussion, it would not be bad for us to know if the Islamic Republic played any role in the release of the American hostages in Lebanon. If so, what is this role? Is it still pursuing its role in this area or not?

[Answer] We basically reject terrorism and oppose the hijacking of airplanes and the like. We do not want to expose the lives of innocent persons to danger. Proceeding from that premise, and in the light of the role we are

playing in preserving the unity, security and stability of Lebanon, we have advised and still are advising the groups which have been subjected to acts of aggression on the part of Israel, America, France, Britain, Italy and so forth not to assault innocent persons. With respect to the American hostages, we have not carried out any special measures, but we have given advice not to threaten innocent persons and terrorize them.

AL-SHAHID: The release of a number of American hostages in Lebanon occurred in conjunction with the end of McFarlane's visit. What are the reasons for that?

[Answer] Rhetoricians say "concurrence is not proof of cause." There is no relation between them at all.

When Ibrahim, the scion of the prophet of God (on whom be God's prayers and peace), died, the sun went into eclipse, and some people said that the concurrence of the eclipse of the sun with the death of Ibrahim was proof of the greatness and status of this child. The prophet of God (on whom be God's prayers and peace) told them "Concurrence is not proof of cause." The death of Ibrahim came because his time had come, by the will of God, and there was no connection between the two events.

The same was the situation regarding the McFarlane scandal and the release of the hostages. There was no connection between the two cases at all.

AL-SHAHID: What is your evaluation of the relations between the Islamic Republic in Iran and the countries of the region, in the light of the aid these countries and the reactionary governments are offering Saddam?

[Answer] There is no doubt that some of these countries had been supporting Iraq and that some of them are still helping the Iraqi regime with various kinds of support. Our relations with these countries depend on the extent of these countries' desire to establish such relations in the light of international principles and customs. We have no problems at present with the Arab countries bordering the Persian Gulf, except for one country, which we have warned repeatedly, and the problem between us still exists.

AL-SHAHID: The Islamic summit is supposed to be held in Kuwait in the next few days. Do you consider that such a conference is an appropriate place for resolving the problems of the Islamic countries?

[Answer] The Islamic summit is an opportunity during which the heads of Islamic countries meet to discuss the issues of the Islamic world, but one can predict the resolutions of a conference which the emir of Kuwait is hosting and in which the Zionist King Hassan and Husni non-Mubarak are participating as of now. It is not the business of the Islamic Republic in Iran to attach hope to these conferences and meetings or to recognize a role for them. Rather, they are an opportunity for us to thwart the media conspiracies which are being arranged against us.

AL-SHAHID: It is no secret that the war constitutes the central issue in Iran, as officials, headed by the imam of the nation, have stated, and that



one of the most important subjects the conference will discuss is the war. What is the Islamic Republic's position on the presentation of the issue of the war at this conference?

[Answer] The issue of the war has been discussed a great deal in the past 6 and a half years and in numerous meetings and conferences held under various titles in various areas of the world. However, what is noteworthy is that we have vetoed all the resolutions which were issued against us. We are a strong country and, in reliance on the holy verse: "The victory of the believers was a right of ours" and the noble verse which we referred to at the beginning of the interview, "God defends those who believe," we rely on absolute divine power and on God, who, in his masterful, revealing book, says, "Want only what God the lord of the two worlds wants" and "His order, if he wants something, is to tell it 'be;' then it is."

We feel divine power tightening our forearms and we feel divine power in our hearts. As long as we feel this divine power, it will cause us to triumph, and we are therefore a great power and we veto all resolutions which are issued against us. We have the right to use the veto. A great country like us does not give attention to such resolutions and discussions, which have no basis or credit. Rather, it is a farce that they should meet behind closed doors to adopt resolutions concerning the war.

The Islamic Republic in Iran has chosen its path, and that is the path the Koran has drawn up. Glorious God says, "What is there after the truth but waywardness?" Our road is to continue to make a defense, with the determination of men and the dignity of honorable men.

When the enemy was occupying 22,000 square kilometers of our territories in five governorates, what did the Islamic conference organization and the international organization do? What did the nonaligned movement do? Today, when the Iraqi Ba'th is occupying three of our cities, what is these organizations' position? What resolution have they adopted so far so that they might want to adopt another one today?

The fact is that Saddam launched the aggression under American signalling and guidance and was confident of the support which he would receive. Today, now that it has become implicated in this war, America is earnestly striving to get the United Nations, the Security Council, the nonaligned movement, the Islamic conference, the Cooperation Council and so forth to meet to discuss the issue of the war and take a resolution in regard to it, that is, in reality, to take a resolution to save this pawn which is on the verge of drowning.

As for ourselves, we are continuing our path, and, in spite of all these conspiracies, victory will be our handmaiden, God willing, and we will teach Saddam and his Ba'thist clique a bitter lesson. Almighty glorious God says, in his glorious book: "God seized him with the chastisement of the last world and the first."

It is most ridiculous that the people who have no place to speak are discussing the issue of the war, and all they can do is supply Saddam with arms. What has Saddam been able to do with these arms?

You look at the issue from one side and see one side of the coin. You must look at the issue from its other side and see the other side of the coin.

It is true that they are supplying Saddam with missiles to hit our towns with, and about 120 missiles have been fired at Dezful alone. However, we find Dezful as perseverent today as the Mountain of Ibn Qabis.

What do you imagine the cost of 120 missiles is? The price of each Scud-B missile is \$4 million. That is, \$480 million! This is aside from the cost of the missiles which have been fired at our other towns; what is the cost of those?

In 6 years of war about 400 planes have gone down. What is the price of these planes? That is, great sums have been spent in vain.

He has spent tremendous sums and he has pushed his forces to the borders in order to pour their rockets on the cities.

Civilization has been exterminated in Iraq for the sake of his aggression.

Iraq's hard currency reserves at the beginning of the war were about \$27 billion and today Iraq's debts, after 6 and a half years of war, come to between \$45 and 60 billion, not to mention the free financial aid it receives. This means that the expenses of the war have cost Saddam's regime, in the past 6 years, about \$100 billion, in addition to 400,000 persons killed, about 1 million wounded, and the damages and losses that have been inflicted on the cities.

Why all these damages and losses?

If these people have gained anything from all this support they have offered Saddam, let them continue their support, and let these people who have vowed hostility to us adopt the resolutions they want. Their resolutions have no validity, and they cannot do anything.

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## EDITORIAL UNDERLINES NECESSITY OF BUILDING SHELTERS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 21 Feb 87 pp 2, 3

[Text]

**IN an announcement** issued last Monday, the Basij force of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps declared a ten-day period of general public mobilization against enemy air raids against civilian areas. In the past few days, the mass media and Radio-T.V. have presented suitable reports and programs to train people to confront air raids and build various types of shelters. Various government and revolutionary organs have also designed especial programs for speedy construction of shelters and have mobilized all their resources to help the people defend against the dastardly enemy air bombings.

The head of the civilian defense affairs department, who is based in the Prime Ministry recently described the government's efforts in building shelters and stressed that bombardments of cities and civilians has been used by the enemy as psychological warfare. This official said the Islamic Republic government has undertaken efforts to build public shelters in 12 provinces in the past two years. The government spent some 784 million rials in 1985 for building shelters, some 534 million rials in 1986 and plans to spend 600 million rials this year for the same purpose.

The government has also provided large amounts of materials needed to build air raid shelters. These steps are deemed necessary considering the dimensions of the Saddam regime's crimes in attacking cities and residential areas. The Iraqi regime from the very beginning of the war has attacked over 10 major cities and thousands of neighboring villages, in which hundreds of thousands of women, children and innocent men have been made homeless.

These inhuman and brutal attacks have not faced the objection or condemnation of any of the world's countries or international organizations. In fact these air raids have even been supported by world arrogant powers and certain reactionary government of the region. The Moslem people of Iran, having given up any hopes from these insipid international communities, have arisen to resist before the Iraqi regime. But the unlimited support of the Superpowers and regional supporters of Saddam have served to prolong the Baghdad regime's evil acts.

The reason behind the Iraqi regime's madness is the heavy defeats it has suffered at the warfront. Liberation of the strategic area of Faw in Val-Fajr-8 operations of Feb. 1986 and the recent Karbala-5 and 6 operations launched east of Basra have forced the Iraqi regime to confess to its defeats.

Being unable to face the Moslem combatants at the fronts, the enemy resorted to attacking cities and towns. Baghdad rulers imagined that by attacking cities, they could break the strong will power of the Iranian Moslem nation. But the whole world witnessed that the air raids did not have any effect except to intensify the hatred of the nation against the Baathists and increasing their desire for revenge.

The massive demonstrations of 22nd Bahman in Tehran and other cities held under the direct threat of enemy bombings, as well as the dispatch of the Mohammad (S) Corps and Mahdi (AS) Corps were all indicative of the nation's desire to continue the war against the aggressor until his ultimate downfall.

The construction of shelters and providing necessary air defense training to the people is an important task which requires programming and considerable attention. The declaration of the 10-day mobilization period will lay the grounds for construction of shelters throughout the country. Already, the Iranian T.V. has shown reports of people all over Tehran and other cities enthusiastically building simple and sophisticated shelters to protect themselves against air raids.

Missile and anti-aircraft defenses of entire cities will also be strengthened, as stated by an IRGC official. In the end what is certain is that like all the other conspiracies that have been imposed against the Islamic Revolution since its inception, this latest conspiracy of the Baghdad regime will also be defeated by the timely efforts of the people.

In fact, the Baghdad regime taking a lesson from the past should have known its latest desperate efforts would fail. As last year during the Qods Day nationwide marches, the Iranian people defied the Iraqi psychological warfare, so the exactly same thing happened during Bahman 22 demonstrations this year.

The present mobilization of the Moslem people of Iran against air raids is coupled with the extensive presence of the Moslem combatants at the warfronts, who are ready to inflict fatal blows at the Iraqi enemy, on the orders of Imam Khomeini.

## PRESIDENT ZIA INTERVIEWED ON RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 22 Feb 87 p 6, 7 &amp; 23 Feb 87 p 6

[Article by Aveek Sarkar]

[Text]

[22 Feb 87 pp 6, 7, 23]

**Q:** Mr President, some-time back another President in another time used another game to make what is now known as one of the major diplomatic breakthroughs of our time. You, sir, are also going to India to use cricket for diplomacy. Do you expect any similar breakthroughs?

**A:** Now, one can say I am exploiting cricket, but cricket for peace ... (laughs). I think somebody has already said this but I do not know who, that Pakistan's game is now cricket for peace. But it's not my intention to have a grand slam. Because I do not think ... I am a simple person with a simple manoeuvre. I thought I must go and see the game because I am a sportsman by nature. I must go and encourage the sportsmen of India and Pakistan. It was a good opportunity to see them. When I decided on this, India and Pakistan relations were reasonably good. The border tensions had not yet started. But by the time this thing picked up, the tensions on the border had already increased. By the time we decided (to go to India), when we got the invitation we found the two teams that negotiated had done a very good job. I would say that my journey to India for the sake of peace and cricket would enable me to have a good exchange of views with the Prime Minister of India. He is very kind. He has already

given me indications that he will meet me. This may not result in a breakthrough but I am certain it will help in lessening the tensions between the two countries. If it achieves that, even if a portion, then it will have achieved its purpose.

**Q:** What do you hope to achieve?

**A:** In India, see a good match, show my face and shake hands with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. That's good enough.

**Q:** Are you going to give him any specific proposal?

**A:** No, we have no specific proposal. All the proposals that we have for the normalisation of the relationship between India and Pakistan are already on the table. It's just a question of implementing them. I thought we had a very good equation on the 17th of December, 1985, when I went to India. And thereafter the crowning event was the meeting of the two Prime Ministers in Bangalore. We thought that we were going ahead but somehow or the other this last border tension that has taken place has slightly slowed down the process. I hope that there will be more opportunities for the two Prime Ministers to get on together. I will play my role as a sincere friend of India and a humble Pakistani.

**Q:** You admit that the expectations that were raised in Bangalore were never quite realised?

**A:** Yes, something went wrong. I don't know why.

**Q:** I understand that on the 17th of January this year the Muslim League passed a resolution which in effect contravenes the Simla Treaty. Indians regard such actions to mean that Pakistan says one thing and does quite another.

**A:** I will say that it is factually not correct. But your observation is correct. But while your observation is correct actually it is not so.

**Q:** The Muslim League did not pass a resolution?

**A:** They did. So your observation is correct. To that extent that the Muslim League's passing of a resolution has been a hurdle in the normalisation of the relationship, this observation of yours is correct. This is an Indian point of view. When I met Mr Rajiv Gandhi in Harare this was what he told me also. But we did not know this. We did not think that the Muslim League statement would be taken so seriously because there is nothing wrong with the statement. Firstly, it is not the government's stand, it is a party stand. Congress(I) statements all over India do not necessarily reveal the government policy. They may or may not. What the government stand is, will always come out either from Parliament or through government spokesmen. So, I conveyed very humbly to Prime Minister Rajiv



Gandhi: 'Sir, we are in the process of normalisation of (our) relationship. If the Muslim League (issues a) statement about Kashmir ... nobody denies that Kashmir is not a major hurdle in the normalisation of the relationship between India and Pakistan. But we agreed to postpone it for a while and proceed on areas where we have agreement so that we can strengthen our relationship. Then, finally, we can look at the Kashmir problem in the light of the United

Nations resolution, in the light of the Simla Agreement.' In actual fact, the Simla Agreement does not emphasise the Kashmir problem as such. It recognises the positions of both the countries as it exists on the question of the Kashmir dispute. That means Pakistan considers this problem should be resolved in the light of the United Nations resolution (while) India accepts that it is not a problem to be resolved through plebiscite. It is an integral part of India. So the Simla Agreement does not

throw any further light.

Q: Except saying ...

A: Both sides will solve ...

Q: ... Through mutual discussion ...

A: ... Through mutual discussion notwithstanding the Kashmir dispute.

Q: ... Including the Kashmir dispute ...

A: ... No. On the Kashmir dispute, the Simla Agreement particularly points out that notwithstanding the Simla Agreement (we can try) to solve our problems bilaterally. On the Kashmir dispute the Simla Agreement recognises the positions of India and

Pakistan as respectively held by the two governments. This is the Simla Agreement. So, the Simla Agreement does not say that you will resolve the Kashmir problem bilaterally. The Simla Agreement says both the countries agree to resolve their problems bilaterally to the best of their ability. Then, if the Muslim League passes a resolution that we should resolve the Kashmir problem, it is not disputable. Why should the Indian government take (except

tion to) this and, if they took (exception to) this, why shouldn't they convey (that) to us? When the two Prime Ministers met in Bangalore they had a very good discussion among themselves. We thought this will be a further step. Then, came this border tension all of a sudden. So, there are hurdles. And the reason is lack of trust, misapprehensions, misgivings. If that element is removed, we shall have very good relations. This is my view.

Q: How can these misgivings be removed?

A: They persist in the mind of the political leaders. As far as the common man is concerned, I am sure, if the political leadership shows the sobriety that requires normalisation of the relationship between countries. India and Pakistan which have fought three wars, where there has been lack of confidence, political leadership, I am certain, if they try to take it out of their minds and, as I said, let us close the old chapters and open up a new chapter. I am sure Rajiv Gandhi will agree to this.

Q: Sir, this is not facilitated by certain actions. To give you one example, I understand your government virtually boycotted the 26th January function in Pakistan this year.

A: 26th January is Independence Day ...

Q: 26th January is Republic Day. No senior member of the Pakistan government attended.

A: I am not sure. I was not here. (Pakistani official present during the interview: Sir, you were in Kuwait.) Surely some senior person could have attended. I am not sure I will find out. But it is not to my knowledge.

Q: One understands also that some people were asked by the Special Branch not to attend.

A: Not to my knowledge. This is not the government policy.

Q: But there is the feeling ...

A: If it has happened and it has given this feeling it must have been as a result of the border tension. On 26th January I could read sitting in Kuwait that tempers were hot and that tensions were high. On 27th of January Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo spoke to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. That day onwards it lessened. But generally in spite of all this, countries of the region particularly India, your Republic Day, or

15th August Independence Day, are generally well attended. And I have been going myself on 26th of January ...

Q: ... You were there last year. I believe you went to our consulate in Karachi.

A: Yes, I went there. But this time I was not here. The Prime Minister was also not here. (Pakistani official: The foreign minister was also not here.) It just happened. I don't think this was deliberate.

Q: I just gave you an example. It may have been unintentional but ...

A: ... but it conveyed the wrong impressions. This is how the misgivings start.

Q: I will give you another small example. I called on the Indian Ambassador this morning. On my way back to Rawalpindi, on the highway itself, my car was stopped. I understand they were the police. They, of course, did not bother to show me their ID cards. They asked me all sorts of questions: Who I was. Where did I go?

A: Whose car was it?

Q: I took the number down for you.

A: But how ...

Q: Well, I was returning to Rawalpindi. This car (coming in from behind) blinked indicating that we should stop. We pulled by the kerb. The driver and another person came out and began to ask all sorts of question.

A: Is that so?

Q: Well, just this morning ...

A: (Zia laughs and then asks) What was the number of this car?

Q: LHD 9273.

A: (Zia writes down) L-H-D-9-2-7-3 (repeats), 9273. And were you travelling by hotel taxi.

Q: I think mine was a PID car. (PID stands for Press Information Department.) It was a government car. (Everybody laughs aloud).

Official: The problem is that intelligence people either in India or in Pakistan—they are of the same calibre. We have all run into similar problems. We who are secretaries to the government have experienced in India ...

A: They are highly unintelligent. They should know Mr Sarkar is playing golf with me and interviewing me at 6.30.

Q: The point is not who I was. They obviously tailed me when I came out of the Indian Ambassador's residence. It

clearly means that all visitors to the Indian Ambassador's residence 'are screened. I can understand the number of the car being taken down and discreet queries being made about the visitor. That's the job of intelligence. But to actually stop a car on the highway and ask for details is surely against the rule of the law.

A: Yes. In a free country, in a democratic country ...

Official: I feel sad and sorry for Mr Sarkar. But I went to India as secretary, ministry of power and waters, stayed in the Asoka Hotel as a part of the delegation led by Mr Aga Shahi. A class friend of mine happened to be a secretary in the government of India. He was so excited when he learnt that I was there he wanted to come and see me. He was not allowed in the vicinity of the hotel till he established his identity. Even then he was not allowed to come to my floor. Well, these things happen. But it is bad.

A: I regret it. It is not in good taste.

Q: Coming back to the border tension, in retrospect and with hindsight why do you

think that all this tension took place at all?

A: Basically—now please don't get me wrong—again, the basic cause is the lack of understanding. There is an unwritten undertaking between the two countries and the military headquarters of the two countries (that) whenever there is an extraordinary move we inform each other. The two army headquarters have a direct hotline between the director-generals of military operations of the two countries. They can pick up (the phone), book a call and say, 'Hello, what's happening?' This is virtually the state. In spite of this India or the Indian Army decided to have a very large scale exercise.

Q: You were officially informed?

A: No. We were not officially informed. But we knew about it. Now this exercise was being planned for nearly the last nine months, eight months. So we were aware of this. Because of all the steps being taken,

intelligence agency work—sometimes more intelligently than what they did this time—in any case you come to know about it. So, the problem was being posed as to why India was concentrating on such a large scale exercise (that) has never happened, neither in India nor in Pakistan. It was happening close to the border in Rajasthan, 50 miles from the Pakistan borders. Thirteen divisions, two armoured divisions—the entire armour might being concentrated. Anybody will have jitters. No word came from India. The Pakistan side also did not open and try to find out what is happening. But when the two Prime Ministers met in Bangalore, our Prime Minister raised this point. He said: 'We believe that a large scale concentration is going to take place in Rajasthan. If this is so, is it correct? And what is your intention? Because we have apprehensions.' These were exactly his words. Now, Mr Rajiv Gandhi said: 'Mr Prime Minister, your information is wrong. Such a large concentration is not intended. It was a large exercise. We scaled it down because it was going to cost us Rs 300 crores.' This was what Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi told our Prime Minister. So, he came back and said, 'Look your information is wrong. India has scaled it down. There will not be so much of concentration.'

Then we found that the concentration has taken place. So, our military headquarters got in touch with their counterparts and said, look the two Prime Ministers have talked. The exercises are to be scaled down. But the concentration that are taking place are contrary to this. What is the purpose of the concentration? So, the Indian headquarters reported. Now these are recorded statements. They said: 'Look this is not that large scale an exercise. And we have slightly modified this. Previously we were going from east to west. Now we are planning from north to south. But the area is the same. When the concentration was completed it amounted to the same thing: eleven divisions of infantry,

two armoured divisions, three armoured brigades, a number of...250,000 troops.' This was round about middle of December. Now the Pakistan army carries out its own exercises also during the months of October, November and December. But by January, end of January things get over. When this concentration was taking place, the Pakistan army very rightly decided to extend their exercises into the month of January. So, they tried to find out what is happening on the

Indian side and in case something is happening we are not caught with our pants down. So, they took the counter-measure. Now, there is the gap, the lack of communication between the two sides, because nobody is saying: look we are concentrating but, damn it, this is only an exercise. (And) We assure you. And if these assurances were given from the Prime Minister's level on either side then this should have travelled down. This was another gap. Then, finally when the Pakistan

army moved its troops on the 22nd of January, a little beyond their peace situation but nowhere near the border. No troops were near 60 to 80 miles near the border. But they moved a very heavy force, a strategical force. In a particular corridor—the Ravi-Beas corridor.

Q: The Pakistan army?

A: The Pakistan army. As a precautionary measure. As a defensive measure. The Indian side got worried. Look the Pakistan army is moving this side. So, instead of clarifying...

Q: The South Strike Force from Multan?

A: Yes, the Southern Strike Force from Multan. And they are 120 miles from the border. But they moved in a particular area.

Q: But you moved towards the Fazilka border.

A: 80 miles away from the border. Nowhere near the border.

Q: But the Indian side main-

tains that your army was positioned across the border where it faces Jammu on one side and the three troublesome districts of Punjab on the other.

A: The two delegates have discussed and they know exactly where they were. The Pakistan army was nowhere, nowhere near 80 to 100 miles of the border. But the Indians thought...they were worried; ...That they have moved this reserve force heading towards Fazilka and another force heading towards Jammu and Kashmir. That is why Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi ordered the borders to be sealed, more troops to be moved. And the tension was at its height from 22nd January to the 27th of January. Otherwise there was nothing. Indian troops concentrated for an exercise. Pakistan got worried and took certain defensive measures. And to strengthen their defensive measure, they moved their southern troops. India suspected that they were going to attack us. They moved some more troops. And that's how the tensions built up. Lack of communications, dialogue between the two countries at the levels that was established—military levels, political level and diplomatic levels.

*Q: But how can this dialogue be established on an institutional basis?*

A: We have a joint ministerial commission and this commission has various sub-commissions. And one of them is a political sub-commission headed by the two foreign secretaries. So, one of the foreign secretaries could have picked up the telephone and spoken to his counterpart. If the two Ambassadors could have gone to the respective foreign offices. If the two military representatives would have picked up their telephones and talked with each other I am sure things would not have been that big. There is a total lack of confidence.

*Q: You have any specific proposal to our Prime Minister to establish an institutional method to ensure such things do not happen?*

A: I would certainly recommend there should not be a breakdown of communication or dialogue. And if we can, we should strengthen the arrangements that already exist—it will be in the interest of India and Pakistan. To avoid any such future mishaps. I call it

mishap.

*Q: But this mishap could have been costly.*

A: Very costly. None, neither India nor Pakistan wanted war but we could have easily gone into war though neither side wanted it.

*Q: Both sides should be seriously worried. Both must be at a loss to understand as to why it has at all happened?*

A: We have analysed and we are quite sure. Absolutely sure. It was caused by both sides having fears of each other. Nothing else. And ignited by, I am sorry to say, the Indian concentration without telling Pakistan. Look our whole purpose is this. If I was there and I would have concentrated 13 divisions, I would have sent word to my counterpart and said that send an observer on the border and watch what we are doing.

*Q: What exactly did you achieve, tactically or strategically, by moving the Southern Strike Force across the Sutlej river?*

A: Their peace location is Multan. They were exercising in an area Bahawalpur-Bahawalnagar (He draws a map). This is Multan. And this is Sutlej river. And Bahawalpur is south of Sutlej river. They were exercising in this area. And the border is here. They moved back. They moved north of Sutlej.

*Q: And they moved towards Jammu side.*

A: Jammu force is different.

*Q: (The President asks for a map of Pakistan. They couldn't trace one in the President's house. So the President continues to draw his own map.)*

A: This is Beas. This is Sutlej. And this is Ravi. Ravi actually comes like this. They all meet at Panchnad. Now Multan is somewhere here. Lahore, let's say, somewhere here and here. And this is Beas. And this the India-Pakistan border. The Ravi-Beas corridor is this. This is where it heads towards Jammu whereas this side is Fazilka. Solemanki—down south—I will show you in a map in a little while—this force which was training in this area moved back and took up positions here. This is 120 miles from the border. They went to a place from where a reserve

normally acts because a reserve is normally placed where he can move in this direction, in this direction and in this direction. There is another force which moved towards Gujranwala-Sialkot. That is where the Jammu side is. There are two different elements. Then none of the troops were less than 80 miles from the border. But they were not in their peace location so Indians got worried. They have moved two forces. One is heading towards this side. One is pointing towards Jammu. This means they are in an offensive mood. That was the time when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said, 'seal the borders'. And if it wasn't (for) Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo (who phoned Rajiv Gandhi) on the 27th of January and the two Prime Ministers had not talked, we would have been fighting each other today.

*Q: Who proposed the talks?*

A: The Pakistan side.

*Q: The Indians never made any approach?*

A: No. That's the pity. We were asking them all the time your concentration is very apprehensive, very apprehensive. They said, no there is no concentration. Your apprehensions are nothing. And the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, told the Prime Minister, Mohammed Khan Junejo, no, there is no concentration. It is just an exercise and not on a large scale.

*Q: This was in Bangalore?*

A: Yes.

*Q: After the border was sealed, your Ambassador was called...*

A: Our Ambassador was called and asked why have you moved this. He must have told, look I do not know, but the Pakistan Army is taking the minimum defensive measure required as a result of the concentration in Rajasthan. If only the apprehensions would have gone.

*Q: What was the reaction in Islamabad when the Ambassador was summoned?*

A: He sent a message that (he) was summoned and was asked why has Pakistan moved such forces. It seems you have (made) offensive moves. And therefore the Indian authorities have unilaterally ordered



their force to seal the border and have moved certain other forces. So we sent the message to our ambassador that please tell them that this is not so. This is the reason why we have extended our training area. And our troops instead of moving towards the border have actually moved away from the border, but were still carrying out exercises.

**Q: Your Prime Minister phoned Mr Rajiv Gandhi...**

**A: (He) phoned Rajiv Gandhi on the 27th.**

**Q: What did he say?**

**A: He said, Mr Prime Minister...I cannot repeat the exact words...He said, Mr Prime Minister there is a lot of tension. What is the matter? And how can we resolve it? Is there a possibility of a dialogue? Either he (Mr Gandhi) suggested or Prime Minister Junjo suggested, let us have the two delegations meet each other. Where shall they meet?**

**He said, Delhi. Welcome, most welcome. At what level? He said, the foreign secretaries' level.**

**Q: There are some suggestions that both at Delhi and at Islamabad, the respective defence ministries may not have kept the civilian bureaucracy fully informed about the border situation.**

**A: I do not think so. No. I do not know about India, but the system that we have (is like this). We have a defence committee of the Cabinet. And the defence committee meets frequently, once a week, (or) once a fortnight depending on the situation. It is presided over by the Prime Minister. It is attended by the relevant ministries—ministry of defence, ministry of interior, ministry of communication and the service chiefs and headquarters. The major issues are decided there. But when the Pakistan Army goes on training they need not inform the foreign office. We're on training, that's it. But when**

these moves were taking place (this was as a result of a discussion at the defence committee of the Cabinet. The government was fully aware as to where these various troops are.

They may or may not be aware of the actual implication of the things. I accept this. But the defence committee of the Cabinet decides on all such issues. This is our side. This must be true of the Indian side. So it may be on both sides that implications of certain actions may have been misunderstood, quite right. I find it quite acceptable. To say that they were kept ignorant is not right. It is a different story that the implications are not raised or not understood. India are concentrating in Rajasthan. What would Pakistan think?

If Pakistan moves the South Reserve Force away from Sulej, but in a particular direction, what will be the reaction in India? These elements may not have been realised.

**Q: Would Pakistan have a specific proposal regarding troop movement in future?**

**A: We have said and in this talk between the two delegations we have emphasised, and we will emphasise, the institutionalised system of dialogue between the two representatives of the Army headquarters should be kept (up) continuously. Both sides should know or should warn each other of exceptional movement or even training movement which are taking place close to the border or which are threatening one way or the other.**

**Q: Have the Indians accepted this proposal?**

**A: No, I don't know. I don't know as yet. But as I said, it already exists. It is only a question of strengthening it and institutionalising it.**

**Q: You speak of a lack of communication leading to misunderstanding. Is there a basic cause, any deeper cause, that**

*leads to frequent breakdown of communication and over-interpretation of small, even, innocuous acts?*

**A: I have seen the people on both the sides. I find that the common man is interested in peace. I have been to India a number of times. We have been greeted by the people warmly. Indian leaders...of course, we did not have time (to receive) Mr Rajiv Gandhi and the rest. But the foreign minister and a lot of other diplomatic persons have been coming and they have been (warmly) greeted. We are sure there is a lot of goodwill. In the past ten years we found that Pakistan has a definite lobby within the intellectuals and the media. People who wanted the two countries to come together and have peace. So the only hurdle lies in the political leadership on both sides. And if this is eliminated, and we (can) start looking at things with fresh minds. This is what I told the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. I said, Sir, you can blame me. I was born in certain circumstances. I was raised under different circumstances. I found Pakistan. I said, you haven't seen all that. You should be approaching it with a very fresh mind. New generations.**

**Q: What did he say?**

**A: He said, yes, I agree, but will it get the response. I said I assure you (laughs).**

**Q: What are the hurdles from the Pakistan side except for the fact that you are from the pre-independence generation?**

**A: The difficulty is that, we see, we feel that India has not yet accepted...has not yet been reconciled to the existence of Pakistan. This somehow is lurking, down in my mind. There is some lurking suspicion in the minds of some Indian leaders about the existence of Pakistan. Is it going to last? Is it going to break (up)? Is it going to collapse?**

I have met those also who accept the realities. Their attitude is different. So if Pakistan realises it is not in competition with India...This is what I say also. And if India realises that Pakistan has come to stay I think a part of the problem will be resolved. This is my

only...I am not sure. But at least this is what I practise and I have good success.

**Q: What sort of competition?**

**A:** India does not want Pakistan to equate itself. Pakistan always says, we will talk to you, we will be together. But don't think Pakistan to be a satellite (of India). We are as good as independent and autonomous a country as India (is). But Indians (think) that India is a big country, how can you compare India with a tiny little country like Pakistan. I can see that. I can see the reasoning. But when two countries meet, they meet on equal terms. When the President of Djibouti—Djibouti is 100,000 people—came to Pakistan—90 million people—I gave him the smartest of salutes that a President can give to another President. I didn't say, Djibouti—a hundred thousand people. Let somebody go and receive that President. I don't give a damn. I don't say, we don't get the respect (due to us) from India. No, we get all the respect. I must say that the hospitality and the gesture that was shown to me the number of times that I have been to India...I have always admired (the reception) and I expressed my gratitude.

**Q: You got the right salute that is.**

**A:** More than the salute. (laughs). But somehow it is in the mind of some people. And if those some (people) are in the wrong positions, then tensions can build up. Then it generates heat unnecessarily.

**Q: Would the Prime Minister be one such person in the wrong position?**

**A:** He is not. I have met him several times. And honest to God—I have told this to everybody—that everytime I meet Rajiv Gandhi I come out with such a happy feeling that he is a sincere man.

**Q: Mrs Gandhi?**

**A:** Mrs Gandhi was tough,

God bless her soul. She was a little hard. But even then we tried and we thought we nearly had a breakthrough. When I was proposing to her a no-war agreement, she came out and said, "Mr President, let us take a further step forward. I want to start a joint ministerial commission." That was Madam Gandhi's idea.

**Q: And Morarji Desai?**

**A:** Morarji Desai is a gentleman and a loveable person. Just to give you an idea: Jomo Kenyatta died. I had not met Morarji Desai before. I was too young when he was a political leader of India, of undivided India. We both were at the funeral at Nairobi. We were sitting three places (from) each other. Myself, then there was the Agha Khan, then somebody else, and then Morarji Desai. So when I saw him I took a step and shook hands with him and said: Sir, I am President Zia. Nice to meet you, Mr Desai. He said, we must meet and talk. I said yes, Sir. How about after the funeral? He said, yes. He said, where shall we meet? I said, in your hotel. He said at what time? I said, as soon as we finish I will come and see you at your hotel. When the funeral finished we both started walking together. His car came first. I said, would you mind if I sit in your car? We both sat in his car. We drove to his hotel.

He took me to his room where his daughter-in-law was there to greet us. And we had one hour of excellent exchange of views. I must give credit to Morarji Desai. He was really sincere in building up relationship between India and Pakistan. The feeling which I now have whenever I meet Rajiv Gandhi. But what happens thereafter is a mystery (Laughs).

**Q: You never had this feeling with Mrs Gandhi?**

**A:** With Mrs Gandhi, I always had difficulty. It was tough going.

**Q: You speak of difficulties. But I gather there was an agreement on trade. A committee of secretaries were to meet after one month. There was also a proposal of at least one joint venture.**

**A:** The ball is in the Indian court. They have not yet responded.

**Q: But one of your key officials lost his job because he was said to have exceeded his brief.**

**A:** No, no ... (It was) Venkateshwaran (He mispronounces the former Indian foreign secretary's name).

**Pakistani official: Venkateswaran.**

**Q: I was not referring to the Indian foreign secretary. I was referring to Mahbub-ul Haq.**

**Pakistani official: Ab samajh gaya (I have now understood).**

**Q: I understand he lost his job at the finance ministry.**

**A:** It was different. Totally different. Not because of this.

**Q: Two senior officials on either side—Venkateswaran and Haq—lost their jobs. It is discreetly hinted that they have lost their jobs for allegedly exceeding their brief.**

**A:** I do not know about the Indian foreign secretary. But I know Dr Mahbub-ul-Haq still holds the most important of the places as minister of planning. He is in addition holding the charge of commerce, he is the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission. He was removed from finance not because of this, but because of other reasons. This happened because the Prime Minister wanted a finance minister who was from his political party. Mahbub-ul-Haq was not a politician. It was as simple as that.

*The second and concluding part of the interview will appear in tomorrow's paper*

[23 Feb 87 p 6]

**Q:** Dr Mahbub-ul Haq was removed from finance to planning and commerce. The finance ministry, it would appear, is a very risky job.

**A:** (Laughs aloud) He (V.P. Singh) is another very fine man. I found him a very capable person. He also was shifted—from finance to defence (Laughs).

**Q: Then at least you should have some understanding over defence matters.**

**A:** Yes. But then we also have understanding over other matters. In our case, finance is not as important as commerce.



**Q:** How do you look at the Venkateswaran issue?

**A:** I cannot believe it. Although I met him, met him only for the first time when he was here. He called on me. I thought he was a very efficient and a competent diplomat. I don't think he could exceed his brief. This was what I felt. Because I talked with him at length about the relationship, about other matters and about Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit. He gave appropriate replies. I was quite surprised ... I do not know whether he was a victim of a visit to Pakistan or something else. Like in the case of Mahbub-ul-Haq. It was not the India thing. But something totally different. Maybe there is something different in the case of Venkateswaran also. I am not sure.

**Q:** But are you disappointed that the Prime Minister won't be coming to Pakistan?

**A:** Yes we are. Definitely. Like as you mention ... it has come to me only today. Unintentionally 26th January in Pakistan did not see a high

(Pakistan) government official, and the Indian embassy rightly thought they were ignored. So if the President of Pakistan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan had gone to India. And the Prime Minister of India says I will come to Pakistan. Then if he also gives an indication that he is dragging his feet or is reluctant, then it certainly creates a disappointment. I am sure you will agree with me.

**Q:** One of your speeches soon after Bangalore may also have contributed to the misunderstanding. You were reported to have said while referring to Kashmir about the "UN decision and the spirit of Simla." In diplomatic nuance, there is a difference between Simla agreement and the spirit of Simla.

**A:** The Simla agreement does not cover Kashmir. So with Kashmir the spirit of Simla agreement. Which

means the spirit of conciliation, dialogue and trying to resolve matters peacefully. That is the spirit of Simla agreement. Simla agreement agrees to bilateral relations. It does not refer to the Kashmir dispute.

**Q:** If this is such a straightforward and simple explanation, why can't it be resolved peacefully?

**A:** Because Pakistan will continue to say that Kashmir is a dispute. But we want to resolve it peacefully in the light of the United Nations resolution and in the light of the Simla agreement. I have said so a number of times. Their (Indian) purpose is not to seek clarification. Their purpose is to object. So they can say: 'You said so.' We raise an objection. This is also (a case of) diplomatic nuance, of being in a position to say, you said this, we contradict. You said this, we raise an objection. It is not that they do not understand. It is because they want to be on record. You said this and we raised an objection. I explained this to Ambassador S.K. Singh. And before that to the other ambassador. Also I spoke to the Prime Minister in the same light.

**Q:** But there are other minor irritants. For example the Indian diplomatic staff requires special permission to move out from immediate territory. I am told this is not true of Pakistan diplomats based in India.

**A:** No, it can't be everything that exists—the facilities and the irritants—they are both the same.

**Q:** Can't they be removed?

**A:** They should be removed once and for all. We are all for it.

**Q:** Why can't you take a unilateral decision?

**A:** We want India sometimes to take the first step also (Laughs).

**Q:** Pakistani citizens who come to India require a special NOC (no objection certificate).

**A:** Pakistani citizens requiring...

**Q:** ...A special NOC...

**A:** I am not sure. I don't think so. But I will check.

**Q:** The going rate is Rs 700 to Rs 800 per NOC.

**A:** (Laughs) That I can accept. (Laughs again) I am not aware of this, to be very frank. But I will check. In fact, we want travel between the two countries (to be) as simple as possible.

**Q:** Would you permit Miss Bhutto to go to India?

**A:** There is no restriction on her to go to anywhere in the world.

**Q:** I met her in Karachi and

have invited her to come to India and speak at The Telegraph debate. She does not think she will be given the permission to visit India.

**Pakistan official:** She is going to London. It is reported in the newspapers.

**Q:** For London, you do not require special permission.

**A:** We have never stopped her. She's been to London. She's been to France. If she wants to go to India all she has to (do is) say (so). In fact, she does not even have to ask me. She has to ask the Indian Ambassador to give her a visa (Laughs). She doesn't have to come to us.

**Q:** You make things difficult by in effect accusing her of receiving Indian money.

**A:** It has been my practice, at least for the last ten years, not to say anything unless I have substantial proof.

**Q:** You did not mention India (directly). But you did say,

although you did not have hard evidence, she must be receiving outside money or else who is paying for her political activities?

**A:** Absolutely right.

**Q:** You still maintain that?

**A:** Yes. I maintain that.

**Q:** Obviously you are pointing the finger at India.

**A:** Why should I? Because when I know it is not India and I know what (country) it is.

**Q:** What is it?

**A:** Unfortunately, I can't tell you. (Laughs) It is not India. And the country that is, I have talked to the head of the country. I said: "Joe, look here you're a friend of Pakistan. But you're doing this." No proof. Unless I have proof at least I will not name it.

**Q:** One way Indo-Pakistan relations suffer is that both of you use what may be called the

India card. In Pakistan the two key personalities are yourself and Miss Bhutto. Others do not count at all.

A: No, no, no...

Q: This is my impression and the impression of the whole world.

A: This is a wrong impression. Zia-ul-Haq is no longer the chief martial (law) administrator. He is the constitutional head of the country. The President of Pakistan.

Q: We are saying that two personalities count. I am not contesting your designation or office.

A: Name the third person who counts. I am the fourth...the two prime ministers.

Q: I am not entering into constitutional niceties.

A: You think that in Pakistan Miss Bhutto is...

Q: One of the two personalities who matter. When you speak of her receiving foreign money the world will presume that you mean India, at least in a very clever way. At least by not identifying the other country concerned, suspicion would be on India's side.

A: No, no. As I said I didn't mean India. I know which other country. But I can't tell you.

Q: Anybody who would read your statement will normally assume it is India.

A: Why should they? Why not Russia?

Q: Miss Bhutto also accuses you of being subservient to India over Siachen glacier and other things.

A: That shows her mind. (Laughs)

Q: The point that I wish to make is the India card.

A: That we all try and play the India card?

Q: Yes.

A: I don't. And that is why I have said in the (past) ten years that I am on a mission to make peace with India. Therefore, I will not choose such lowly diplomacy.

Q: One of Miss Bhutto's allegations is that while you unnecessarily bow down to India you also unnecessarily provoke it.

A: How can I? The two are contradictory.

Q: She says—and I am merely quoting her—that this is just an example of your ineptitude.

A: She must first say, she must first prove that a person who is in the habit of cowing down will provoke the same person to whom he is cowing down.

Q: What she means is, on different occasions. As an example of cowing down she would cite the Siachen glacier. As an example of unnecessarily provoking she would cite your receiving Sikh delegates or your permitting a Sikh demonstration in Islamabad. In contrast, she argues, you do not permit Opposition politicians to demonstrate.

A: She's wrong, she's wrong on both sides. While I do not receive the Sikh delegates privately, they come officially four times a year in the presence of the Indian Ambassador. This is number one. The government had nothing to do with the agitation that went around twice in Lahore with the Sikh celebration. It was incidentally caused by inept handling by the Indian embassy staff on both the occasions. Mr S.K. Singh knows about it. Miss Benazir (Bhutto) may not be knowing about this. But this cannot be called provoking India. I receive a few Sikh delegations. I also receive Hindu delegations. Not only the Sikhs. The Hindu yatriis who have started coming for the last two years, whenever they pass from Pindi I call for them. It has happened once. But the Sikh delegations come four times a year. They meet 5,000, 10,000 at a time. I receive ten or 15 of them in my house in the presence of the Indian Ambassador. You can't call it provoking India. I am doing this not now. I am doing this since 1977. At that time Indian Sikhs were not what they are now in India. At that time there was no animosity between the Hindus and the Sikhs.

Q: But does Pakistan have anything like a Sikh card.

A: Why should we? If we wanted to—and I explained this once to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, I explained this to Madam Gandhi, and explained this to the Indian foreign office also three or four times—my theory is simple. You must do a thing when you

want to achieve a particular result. If you don't want to achieve a result then your actions are contrary. Agreed? And I give an example of the Indian involvement. India and the Soviet Union decided to bifurcate Pakistan. There is an aim behind it: Let us separate East Pakistan from West Pakistan, create a new country Bangladesh. In order to achieve that they concentrated large military forces. They created trouble inside—Mukti Bahini and everything else—and they achieved that. Now let us assume that Pakistan also wants to achieve a Bangladesh in India. So its efforts must be in consonance with the object to be achieved. You see my point. If the Pakistani effort in disturbing the Sikhs or in bolstering the Sikhs is something equal to the Indian neighbours' (effort). But if it is a few intelligence reports, then you cannot blame Pakistan because Pakistan has always believed that past is past. Let us now live like good neighbours. We will not tolerate anybody interfering in our internal affairs. If we are men of principle, as we claim to be, then why should Pakistan interfere in the internal affairs of India? The Sikh problem is an internal problem of India. Pakistan has no bloody business to either provoke the Sikhs or help the Sikhs or to do anything that can be construed by India as being interference in their internal affairs. Pakistan has never done it.

Q: Have you been able to convince New Delhi?

A: I thought I said forcefully enough. (Laughs). But this is the truth. Mr Sarkar, we believe very firmly in this.

Q: How do you react to the controversy over the Muslim Personal Law in India?

A: I thought that the (Indian) Muslims have done well. But more than that I thought I will give credit to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi because Parliament passed the law that the Muslims be governed by their own Shariat. That is a very bold step. I must give full marks to the unity of the Muslims in India and to the statesmanship of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Q: Under Ayub Khan you had an amended Shariat law?

A: Not the Shariat law. We had a families' law.

Q: Which is far more liberal than the laws for Muslims in India.

A: Yes. You are ahead of us. (Laughs)

Q: Or behind?

A: You are a step ahead of us in the implementation of the Shariat. (Laughs). Yes. This is the truth. Whereas the families' law in Pakistan is disputed by some religious scholars as being against the Shariat, the judgment of the passage of the law as being passed by Parliament in India is in accordance with the Shariat and that is why I say it is a bold step. I give full credit to the Muslims in India (and) also to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Q: Have you followed the Babari mosque controversy?

A: As much as one should. It's a controversy that unnecessarily creates trouble. I think the sooner it is given up the

better will it be. If it were a mosque leave it as a mosque. If it wasn't a mosque then decide one way or the other. But I am told that it was a mosque. It should be settled, for a country like India.

Q: You are not going to speak about this to our Prime Minister?

A: This is your internal matter. I have never talked about internal matters to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi or the late Madam Indira Gandhi.

Q: What do you think of Mr Shahabuddin?

(President Zia does not appear to recognise the name.)

Pakistani official: Muslim people's leader in Hindustan.

A: I do not know about him.

Q: The Shah Bano case?

A: I've only heard her name.

Q: This is the 40th year of independence. Since this is a common legacy, could we not have a common programme to celebrate this occasion?

A: We're going to have the cricket cup, the World Cup. (Laughs)

Q: You would not like to have anything else?

A: If we can, why not? If I am not wrong it is already under the consideration of the fore-

ign office. We have a sub-commission of the joint ministerial commission which looks after social and cultural events. I think the suggestion from us is already with them. Pakistan and India should do something which should allow them to celebrate 40 years of not only historical past, but also looking ahead at the next 40 future years.

Q: This is a personal question. I am merely taking advantage of your generosity.

A: Yes, please.

Q: Were you ever in love before you were married?

A: No. (Laughs)

Q: And was yours an arranged marriage?

A: Yes. Because my wife...In fact, I was in love with my wife, so you can say I was in love before my marriage. Yes, it's true, with my wife. (Laughs). She is the...In Muslims, you know, we can marry cousins...My mother and her mother are sisters, real sisters. When she was young I used to hear from her mother, that one day she would like to receive me as a bridegroom. That stuck in my mind. And she was a very charming lady (Laughs). So I fell in love with her and eventually we got married and the marriage was arranged by the parents. And this is the truth. (Laughs)

Q: Thank you, Sir.

Concluded

## SUCCESS OF GOVERNMENT 'OPERATION CLEANUP' QUESTIONED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 11 Jan 87 p 3

[Editorial: "Operation Cleanup Not Yet Accomplished"]

[Text] Ghaus Ali Shah, chief minister of Sind has said that if we were to leave Operation Cleanup incomplete, then drug traffickers, arms dealers and smugglers would get the upper hand and no government would ever be able to eliminate these vile bases. The chief minister also rejected the idea that the details of Operation Cleanup had leaked out. Responding to demands for his resignation because of the failure to put down the bloody riots in Karachi, the chief minister said that if he had resigned, then it would have meant that the drug mafia had succeeded in ousting him.

There is no doubt that Operation Cleanup was a very big and daring step. For some years past, it has been demanded that steps should be taken to put an end to the drug trafficking centers and the arms dealers. But even the martial law regime was afraid to take the initiative in this matter and the higher authorities had given the impression that if the drug trafficking centers were tampered with they would have to face dire consequences. Viewed from this perspective, by raiding criminal and drug trafficking centers the government has certainly proved itself to be very courageous. But the question of whether the operation was successful still remains unanswered. Similarly, it is not clear whether the serious consequences appeared with all the violence and disturbance that had been predicted. The general impression is that the quantity of arms and drugs recovered from Sohrab Goth was not as great as expected from the notoriety. According to the chief minister if news of the operation had leaked, it would not have been possible to recover the heroin and other drugs worth 300 million rupees. But the chief minister certainly knows that drugs with a much higher value have been seized by a raid on a truck or an ordinary drug trafficking center. It appears that some drugs and arms were intentionally left behind in order to avoid the impression that the operation was a failure. Otherwise building basements and underground tunnels become meaningless. It is best to let bygones, and the sacrifices the people had to make are well known. There is some consolation in knowing that the government was determined to accomplish this operation and to remove once and for all the strongholds of drug trafficking by clashing with the "drug mafia." But we believe that "Operation Cleanup" has not yet been accomplished, and the result is that illegal arms and drugs from Sohrab Goth have spread throughout the city, the clear proof of



which was the use of arms in Orangi town on 14 December. According to reports circulating here, several drug centers are carrying on their activities in the city. Recently there were clashes at a drug stronghold in Quaidabad, Landhi, between drug traffickers and the police. A similar clash took place in the Baghdadi area, and the criminals, succeeded in escaping, as usual. If the government has really pledged to free citizens from the clutches of drug traffickers and illegal arms dealers, then it should do away with each and every "Sohra Goth" in the city, but not at the risk of innocent citizens.

Operation Cleanup cannot be considered to be accomplished without the immediate undertaking of action in two phases. First of all, the marauders who started their campaign of murder and pillage should be called to account for their actions. Second, the illegal occupiers of Sarjani town should be evicted, because this problem too was created as a result of Operation Cleanup. We do not say that this problem was intentionally created by the authorities. But there is no doubt that as a result of negligence, incompetence and lack of perception, a new problem was created. What answer does the government have for the settlement of other people in the houses of people with less income without the consent of the owners of these houses? It would be wrong to assume that this problem was created without rhyme or reason, and at a time when we are already faced with innumerable problems. We believe that since the government started Operation Cleanup, despite receiving warnings about serious consequences and blackmailing, the operation will have to be accomplished in all respects or else we will have to bear the consequences for some time to come. In the meantime, we would like to know who the people are that exerted pressure against Operation Cleanup and issued warnings about dangerous consequences. The chief minister says that the warnings were not against himself alone but were directed against the people as well. But he rejected all warnings and did not give in to blackmail. We believe that those who issued the warnings will some day become known. It is praiseworthy that the chief minister did not falter in face of the threats, but it is a matter of shame for the people that their chief minister should be threatened. These threats could not harm the chief minister, but the operation cost some people their lives. We will not say that when the chief minister knew that the lives of people were in danger he should have taken measures for their safety. But we do believe that some day those who threatened the chief minister will be exposed and will have to pay for their actions. In fact, it is these very people that are responsible for the disturbances in the city.

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METHOD OF TACKLING CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT CRITICIZED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 13 Jan 87 p 3

[Editorial: "Corruption and Bribery Rampant in Government Departments"]

[Text] Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo has appointed a committee consisting of 19 members to put an end to corruption and bribery in government offices. The committee is to use unconventional methods. The prime minister announced the other day that the government will not allow corruption and irregularities to continue in the country, and he said that it was his sincere desire that the members of the National Assembly should join the government in eliminating corruption from the society. The prime minister announced the formation of the committee during the question-and-answer period in response to a question on the selling of military land in Faisalabad through negotiation rather than by auction. The question of military land in Faisalabad was also presented to the federal accountant. The aforementioned committee will carry out fresh investigations on the question of the sale of the land and elicit new facts.

A heated debate took place during the question-and-answer period in the National Assembly on Sunday regarding the sale of land measuring 124 kanal and 7 marla near the bus stand in Faisalabad at a very cheap price. It has been said that this plot of land was sold for a very nominal sum to a relative of a retired lieutenant general who also worked as a federal secretary. A member of the National Assembly taking part in the debate went so far as to say that not only this plot of land but other plots of land in the cantonment area are also being sold. The result of the debate and discussion is that a committee consisting of members of the National Assembly has been appointed to look into the matter and to eliminate bribery and corruption from government departments. There is no doubt that centers and sources of bribery and corruption are found in government offices, and that these centers set an example to others. Such bribery and corruption have been known to exist in other periods to some extent, but no government departments and agents have far outstripped all limits and have come to look upon bribery and corruption as their privilege. The common man has not only become helpless, but he now considers this as his fate. Furthermore, the president's acknowledgment of failure has turned corrupt government authorities into lions. When the martial law authorities were incapable of dealing with this, who can have the courage to lay hands on them. A considerable increase in corruption and bribery on the

government" after the second martial law regime, at a time when the country was turned into the property of dacoits and open permission was granted for carrying out plunder by appointing government favorites to important posts. Things came to such a pass that when a former prime minister visited the Quaid-e-Azam mausoleum, he had to tell one of his ministers to refrain from selling the Quaid's tomb. As the saying goes, all of the government officials followed the same line of action. The third martial law regime could not take any action against government officials without harming itself. The National Assembly today is debating the involvement of military officials in drug smuggling. The parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Defense has said that the rapidly worsening situation has had its effect on the military officers as well, and as ill luck would have it, today military officers too have become involved in drug trafficking. This is the extent of corruption. But when the army is repeatedly involved in civilian affairs, one cannot expect anything else. Regarding the appointment of a special investigation committee to eliminate corruption in government departments, all that can be said is that this game has been played a number of times in our country. Whenever an issue is intended to be hushed up, a committee is appointed or a commission is formed. When there is sincerity of purpose, however, goals can be achieved without the forming of committees or the appointment of commissions. The federal accountant's office was set up for this purpose. In the presence of such an institution there certainly was no need to appoint a new committee. What is required is that strict action should be taken against the corruption pointed out by the federal accountant and that individuals found guilty of committing corruption should be severely punished.

The federal accountant's jurisdiction of authority should be expanded, and no one should be considered above the accountant. Only thus can this issue be resolved, or else there will be no end to the forming of committees.

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